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A

NEW COMMENTARY

ON

GENESIS.

BY

FRANZ DELITZSCH, D.D.,

LEIPZIG.

Translated by

SOPHIA TAYLOR.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

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PREFACE.

FIFTEEN years have elapsed since the fourth and last appearance of this Commentary. Among my various scientific performances I have always had but a very slight opinion of this. I was therefore the more rejoiced at being able to make another attempt at a possibly improved execution of this task. The results of incessant labour, subsequent to 1872, are deposited in this fifth edition. The exposition is now proportionably carried out in conjunction with the translation of the text, the analysis more thoroughly effected according to the previous works of Wellhausen, Kuenen, and especially Dillmann, while various alterations of arrangement have made the volume, thus shortened by many sheets, a more serviceable compendium and book of reference. Nevertheless, the praise of full and complete scholarship will still be withheld from it. For the spirit of this Commentary remains unaltered since 1852. I am not a believer in the "Religion of the times of Darwin." I am a believer in two orders of things and not merely in one, which the miraculous would drill holes in. I believe in the Easter announcement, and I accept its deductions.

I have explained my standpoint in an "Episodic lecture on Genesis," printed in the 23rd annual series (1886) of the Journal *Saat auf Hoffnung*, of which I am the editor. I have done so still more thoroughly in twenty-four papers on Gen. i.–Ex. xx., which have appeared under the title of *Suggestive Jottings*, in the Philadelphia *Sunday-School Times* (Dec. 18, 1886, to June 4, 1887), while to my eighteen papers on the criticism of the Pentateuch in Luthardt's

Zeitschrift (twelve in the annual series for 1880 and six in that for 1882), has been added a nineteenth, entitled, "Tanz und Pentateuchkritik" (in the series for 1886). I state this for the sake of those who might care to read more of me than the introduction to this Commentary furnishes.

What author is spared the sad experience that his joy at the completion of a work is quickly disturbed by that perception of defects which follows in its track! It can hardly be permitted me to send forth a fresh revision of this Commentary. May the Lord animate younger theologians to retain what is good in it and to produce what is better!

FRANZ DELITZSCH.

Leipzic, *July* 1887.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

To this Preface of the author (revised for the English edition by himself) it must be added, that while preparing the translation, the translator has been favoured by Prof. Delitzsch with such numerous improvements and additions, that it may be regarded as made from a revised version of the New Commentary on Genesis.

The abbreviations *DMZ.* and *KAT.*, so frequently used in the work, stand respectively for *Deutsche Morgenländischen Zeitung* and (Schrader's) *Keilinschriften und das alte Testament.*

INTRODUCTION.

CRITICISM at present fixes the date of the main bulk of the Pentateuch, the so-called Priest Codex, together with the Law of Holiness, which has so striking a relation to Ezekiel, at the time of the captivity and the restoration under Ezra and Nehemiah. The Book of Deuteronomy however presupposes the primary legislation contained in Ex. xix.–xxiv. and the work of the Jehovistic historian. Hence we cannot avoid relegating the origin of certain component parts of the Pentateuch to the middle ages of the kings; and, if we continue our critical analysis, we find ourselves constrained to go back still farther, perhaps even to the times of the Judges, and thus to tread the soil of a hoar antiquity without incurring the verdict of lack of scientific knowledge. Even those who insist upon transferring the conception of the account of the creation in Gen. i. 1–ii. 4, and of the primæval histories, which are of a form homogeneous with it, to the post-exilian period, do not, for the most part, deny that they are based upon subjects and materials handed down from long past ages. For the most part, we repeat; for there are even some who think that these primæval histories, *e.g.* the account of the Deluge, were not brought with them by the Terahites at their departure from Chaldea, but first obtained by the exiles in Babylon from Babylonian sources, and remodelled in Israelite fashion. Under these circumstances, and especially on the threshold of Genesis, — that book of origins and primæval history,—it will be a suitable preparation for our critical problems to attain to historical certainty as to how far the art of writing reaches back among the people to whom the

authorship of Genesis belongs, and as to the date at which the beginnings of literature may be found or expected among them.

It is a self-understood fact that writing originally consisted of ideographic signs (figures of things), and that these were partly figurative signs (representations of what was meant) and partly symbolical signs (emblems of what was meant). Picture writing is the beginning of all writing, not only in Egypt, but also in ancient Anahuac. The Babylonio-Assyrian cuneiform writing likewise bears evident traces of having been originally a picture writing. Nowhere however is the progress by which the invention of writing was developed so perceptible as in the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The cuneiform never advanced beyond the stage of syllables. Even in the Persian cuneiform of the first kind, the transition from syllable to letter writing was not as yet so complete that the former did not still encroach upon the latter. Egyptian writing, on the contrary, exhibits a matured alphabet of twenty-six letters, and we see plainly how an advance was made in the department of phonetic signs (signs of sound) from those denoting syllables to those denoting letters. The invention of writing came to perfection by the discovery of the acro-phœnician principle, and J. Grimm and W. von Humboldt will be found to be right in regarding the invention of the alphabet as the world-famed act of the Egyptians. But when Egyptian writing had distinguished separate letters, one advance had still to be made. For even after letters became fixed signs of sounds, the use of pictures of things, partly *per se*, partly as determinatives, was continued as a means for the expression of thought. It was the Semites perhaps, as Stade (*Gramm.* § 18) conjectures the Hyksos, who on the one hand derived their knowledge of writing from the Egyptians, and on the other settled the supremacy of the acro-phœnician principle by remodelling and simplifying the alphabet contained in the Egyptian system of writing. Although a secondary relation of the Semitic letter signs of sound to the Egyptian (hieroglyphic or hieratic) could not be shown

(as by Bickell, de Rougé, Lenormant, and Halévy), this would prove nothing against the secondary relation in general, the acro-phœnician principle admitting of infinite variation. The alphabetic names—says Jacob Grimm in his history of the German language—show the natural surroundings of a people. Accordingly, the pictures of things used in the Semitic alphabet as signs of sounds correspond with the simple life of a nomadic people. It was not the variegated and mingled Egpytian writing, but this simple stereotyped Semitic alphabet, to which, as Hitzig says in his work on the invention of the alphabet (1840), all culture adheres, and with which the human mind traffics.

It is no slight commendation of the fidelity of Scripture history that in the transaction between Abraham and the Hittites respecting the purchase of the cave of Machpelah, which is related with the accuracy of a protocol (Gen. xxiii.), not a word is said of the use of writing. Nor does the verb כתב occur in Genesis, either in chap. xxiii. or elsewhere; while we find in Exodus, and onwards down to Deuteronomy, both an acquaintance with, and the most various use of writing. כתב (together with שטר, in the official designation שֹׁטֵר, which occurs in Ex. Num. Deut.) is, in distinction from monumental writing (by chiselling), חרת, Ex. xxxii. 16, or graving on fine plaster (Deut. xxvii. 1–8), and ornamental writing (by carving פִּתֵּחַ), which recalls Egyptian sculpture and lithoglyphy, the usual word for "to write;" to put anything in writing. To record officially is כתב בְּסֵפֶר, Ex. xvii. 14; Num. v. 23. Of writing on papyrus, not a trace is found. The Hebrew term for book, סֵפֶר (from ספר, to strip off, to smooth, syn. מרט), refers to the skin of an animal with the hair stripped off and smoothed (compare סֹפֵר, a scribe, a writer, with סַפָּר, the post-biblical term for a barber), or to *membranæ* (2 Tim. iv. 13).[1]

Hence the patriarchal ancestral families of Israel do not as yet manifest a knowledge of writing, which first appears among

[1] In Assyrian neither בתב nor כפר is found, the usual word for "to write" being *saṭâru* (שטר).

the people on their departure from Egypt. The Pentateuchal history itself impresses upon us the fact that Israel learned the art of writing in Egypt, where the possession of this art reaches far back in pre-Mosaic times. For the exodus took place under Menephthes, the fourth Pharaoh of the 19th dynasty, and Herodotus already saw the pyramid belonging to the 1st Manethonian dynasty covered with hieroglyphics.

Thus the people of Israel possessed in the Mosaic period at latest the prerequisites for committing their memorable events to writing. In ancient times, however, and especially in the East, the precursors of all literature were those discourses which were orally disseminated before they became written documents. The sword-lay of Lamech, Gen. iv. 23 sq., and other antediluvian sayings cannot be regarded as such precursors of Hebrew literature, for the Hebrew language originated in post-diluvian times. But the testamentary utterances of Isaac concerning his twin sons, Gen. xxvii., and of Jacob concerning his sons as ancestors of the twelve tribes, Gen. xlix., were, assuming their historical nature, delivered in the language of Canaan, which Abraham and his descendants had there appropriated. Their contents show them to be no *vaticinia post eventum*, and the memory of the Orientals performs marvels; hence it may be at least esteemed possible that tradition, *i.e.* oral narration, propagated them in their original form. We have undoubtedly such an orally propagated discourse in the lay in Num. xxi. 27–30, which Israel heard from the mouth of Amorite poets (מֹשְׁלִים) when they conquered the domain of the Amorite King Sihon, to whose kingdom the formerly Moabite land northward from Arnon to Heshbon then belonged. This lay is quoted as a proof that Heshbon, which was then Amorite, had formerly been Moabite. Its peculiar and antique stamp speaks for the originality of the document. It is as follows:—

27 Come ye to Heshbon,
Let the city of Sihon be built and established:
28 For a fire is gone out of Heshbon,

A flame from the city of Sihon.
It hath devoured Ar of Moab,
The Lords of the high places of Arnon.
29 Woe to thee, Moab!
Thou art undone, oh people of Chemosh:
He hath given his sons as fugitives,
And his daughters into captivity
(Unto Sihon, king of the Amorites).
30 We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon,
And have laid waste, so that fire was kindled unto Mêdebâ.

No other Canaanite (Phœnician) written record of even approximate antiquity is extant. Nevertheless, קִרְיַת סֵפֶר, Josh. xv. 15, and קִרְיַת סַנָּה, Josh. xv. 49 (comp. סנן, to furrow, to line, to draw, to trace with a sharp instrument), the ancient name of Debîr, situate on the southern mountain range not far from Hebron, gives reason to conjecture that the use of writing dates back to the Mosaic, nay, pre-Mosaic (though not to the patriarchal), period among the heathen population of Canaan. Hitzig (*Gesch.* i. 31) goes too far when he advances to the hypothesis that the alphabet was invented in Debîr. But the notice (Num. xiii. 22) that Hebron, the neighbour town of Debîr, was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt, certainly gives rise to the supposition that this Debîr has an importance with respect to culture consisting in some sort of connection with Egypt.[1]

In the circle of patriarchal family life, oral tradition was sufficient to hand down the experiences of the fathers to their descendants,—authorship everywhere begins when the family increases to the people, and when this people has attained to such a climax in its development as to have behind it a great past and before it a great future. Hence we may expect the beginnings of Israelite literature in the time of the sojourn in Egypt. But of this time we know little. The Thorah hastens past these four (Gen. xv. 13; Ex. xii. 40; comp. Acts vii. 6) or two hundred years (Ex. xii. 40, LXX.; comp. Gal. iii. 17)

[1] The name of the city of Sippar, in which Xisuthros is said to have hidden the sacred books of the Chaldees before the Flood, does not mean *ville des livres* (Ménant and others), but is the Semiticized Sumerian Zimbir. See Friedr. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 210.

to the history of the exodus, which took place under Mepenthes, the son of Ramses II., after the rule of the Hyksos had been already for a long time terminated by the conquest of their stronghold, Avaris Pelusium. It is, however, evident from Josh. xxiv. 14, Ezek. xx., that Israel was secularized and Egyptianized in Egypt. The silence of the Thorah can only be explained by the fact that the period was, with respect to the history of salvation, a barren waste. But the more Israel was then blended with Egypt, the more would it be influenced by Egyptian culture,—God so ordained it that Egypt was to Israel a secular preparatory school for its future national life and authorship. No people of antiquity was so adapted for this purpose as Egypt, which to a certain extent became to mankind in a worldly sense what Israel was to become to it in a spiritual sense. The influence of the legalism and multiformity of Egyptian national and private life is of great importance in forming a judgment of the Mosaic legislation and its codex. Whatever may be the case with respect to Deuteronomy, such precepts as those respecting the king, Deut. xvii., the prophets, chap. xvii., and others, which presuppose a settled habitation, are by no means surprising after Israel had dwelt for centuries in a country with duly constituted king, priests, and prophets.

There too the impulse to authorship was powerfully excited. No Egyptian—says Herodotus, ii. 82—neglects to record unusual and striking occurrences. Besides, it was just under the Pharaohs of the 18th and 19th dynasties that national science and art reached their highest splendour in Egypt. It was then that the poem by Pentaur,[1] the court poet, on the victory of Ramses II. over Cheta, which has been compared with a lay of the *Iliad*, appeared; then that the passion for writing led to competition in every variety of composition, that literature flourished, and even epistolary

[1] See on the poem of Pentaur, Lenormant, *Anfänge der Cultur* (1875), i. 195 sqq. *Id. Roman von den zwei Brüdern*, i. 249 sqq. On fictitious literature, Brugsch, *Aus dem Orient* (1864); and on epistolography, Lincke, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der altäg. Briefliteratur* (Leipzig 1879).

style was cultivated. Hence a beginning of Israelite literature in the period succeeding the exodus would be by no means too early.

We know nothing further concerning the ספר מלחמות ה' (Book of the Wars of Jahveh), which is quoted Num. xxi. 14 sq. to show that the Arnon was the boundary of Moab towards the Amorites, *i.e.* in the time of the Entrance, when the Moabites had been driven southwards over the Arnon by the Amorite king Sihon. The quotation[1] sounds ancient, highly poetic, and to us partly enigmatical,—

> Vaheb in Suphah
> And the rivers of Arnon
> And the valley of the rivers.
> That stretches thither where ʿAr lies
> And leans upon the border of Moab.

If it is the Jehovist who here cites this book, it is a source unknown since at least the Assyrian period (the eighth century). It was, to judge from its title, a collection of heroic songs. If we take into consideration the fact that the poem of Pentaur exhibits verses with internal parallelism, and offers various parallels to the lyric poetry and prophecy of the Bible, it is not too fantastic a notion to regard it as possible that the component parts of this ancient Israelite Hamâsa reach back to the Mosaic period.

The history of Israel does not begin with the condition of an ignorant, rude and undisciplined horde, but with the transition to a nation of a race which had come to maturity amidst the most abundant means and examples of culture. This is a fact which all criticism of the Pentateuch has to take into account. Moreover, this developing nation possessed undoubtedly traditions concerning its ancestors, the patriarchs, who had come from Chaldea and Aramea through Canaan to Egypt,—remembrances of the events of their lives, and especially of their religious life, by means of which this

[1] See my article on the quotation from the Book of Wars in Luthardt's *Zeitschr.* 1882, p. 337 sqq

people, though for the most part Egyptianized, might attain to a perception of the religious knowledge granted and the destiny allotted them since the time of Abraham. The critic of the Pentateuch has also to reflect, that however late a date may be assigned to the patriarchal histories, their roots must reach as far back as the sojourn in Egypt. The man, in whom the revived national and religious consciousness reached its climax, was not only, as an Israelite, a man of deep religious feeling and great endowments, but had also, as the adopted son of Pharaoh's daughter,—the favourite daughter, as it appears, of Ramses II.,—been brought up at the court, and initiated into the science and mysteries of that priestly caste which ranked next to the king (Ex. ii. 10; Acts vii. 22). This, too, is a fact which criticism must not fail to take into account, lest it should form too low an estimate of the share of Moses in the legislation codified in the Pentateuch. And the more so, since it cannot be denied that this legislation points in various institutions, tendencies, and matters to the Egyptian fatherland of the legislator. The ark of the covenant recalls the sacred chests (*κίσται*) of the Egyptians, and the Urim and Thummim the sapphire image of the goddess of Truth, who wore the *ἀρχιδικαστής*, hanging from a golden chain on her bosom. The law of leprosy in Leviticus is best historically accounted for by the fact that leprosy was an epidemic disease among the Egyptian Semites as well as among the Israelites, whose exodus was hence transformed in the national Egyptian view into an expulsion of lepers. And the monumental writing upon plastered stones, Deut. xxvii. 2–4, as well as the אבני מַשְׂכִּית, Lev. xxvi. 1; Num. xxxiii. 52), cannot be more aptly illustrated than by the monuments of the land of hieroglyphics. The admission of these and other references to Egypt may be refused, but even the most negative criticism cannot deny that the legislation of the Pentateuch bears in its matter the impress of Egypt.

If we insist on making the history of Israel begin with the free and unrestrained life of a half-savage people, it would be

necessary, in order to make room for such a beginning, to plunge the sojourn in Egypt in prehistoric darkness, as Stade does when he says (*Gesch.* i. 129): "If any Hebrew clan ever sojourned in Egypt, no one knows its name." But who will follow the bold doubter in this? It is true that, as Ranke says, only history which has been critically investigated can be esteemed as history; but if history is critically annihilated, what is left but to fill the *tabula rasa* with modern myths? If, on the other hand, the Egyptian sojourn is a fact not to be got rid of by denying it, then Pentateuchal criticism and the reconstruction of the history of Israel cannot refuse to take account of the consequences of this fact; then there exists an internal connection between the sojourn in Egypt and the Sinaitic legislation; then the Egyptian sojourn could not have failed to prepare Israel for its destiny as the people of the law; and then, finally, the tyrannous oppression, which made Egypt a house of bondage and an iron furnace, completed this preparation by calling into new life that national and religious consciousness which had disappeared when it was a hospitable place of refuge. We shall never be persuaded that the proper names in Ex. vi., Num. i., ii., vii., x., and elsewhere, are just hit upon at random, —they are a significant mirror of contemporary history, and especially of the religious disposition of the time. The reawakened consciousness of God is expressed in such names as מישאל, עזיאל, פדהצור, צורישדי, and the reawakened national consciousness in such as עמיהוד, עמינדב, עמישדי. עמרם, the name of Moses' father, declares that Israel is an illustrious nation;[1] and that of his mother, יוכבד, that the glory is Jahveh's. These two names are as it were the anagrams of the great ideas which filled the soul of Moses, and made him the deliverer of his people.

[1] In opposition to Nöldeke, *DMZ.* xl. 185, we separate עַמְרִי and עַמְרָם; the former may be connected with the Arabic عمر (عمر), which means culture and life.

It is generally acknowledged, except perhaps by a few ultra sceptics, that the time of Moses must be regarded as that really creative period of Israel which is the type and standard for after ages. For our part, we thence infer that a Mosaic Thorah is the basis of the Pentateuch, without desiring on that account already to pronounce a judgment as to its form and extent, although it seems to us *à priori* probable that it consisted of more than the ten sayings of the Decalogue. We are convinced that the history and literature of the post-Mosaic age demand the existence of a Divine revelation of which Moses was the mediator, and which raised the now independent nation to the self-consciousness of being the chosen people of Jahveh.

The circumstance that the national life of Israel, with the exception of a few brighter intervals, shows an absence of the normal influence of such a Thorah, does not perplex us as to its existence. The history of the result of laws does not coincide with the history of their composition. This applies especially to the law of Israel, which is not a law sanctioned by custom, but a revealed, and therefore an ideal law which aims at becoming custom.

Undoubtedly the unity of God and His worship without the medium of an image formed the fundamental dogma of the Mosaic Thorah.[1] Nevertheless, Israel was never during the whole period of their pre-exilian history entirely free from idolatry and the worship of false gods, and the masses were mostly even steeped in it. If the religion of Israel was, as Kuenen conceives it, an ethic monotheism, the constant resistance offered to it by Israelite nature shows that this ethic monotheism was no spontaneous growth, but was the requirement of a document of revelation, which set up an ideal whose realization was frustrated by the natural inclinations of the people. It is at most but comparatively that the religion of Jahveh manifests itself as a ruling power during the reigns of Saul, of David, and the early years of

[1] See Ed. Kōnig, *Bildlosigkeit des legitimen Jahwehcultus*, 1886.

Solomon, and that indeed without having, as under Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, obtained recognition by means of a violent reaction. This is a circumstance which can hardly be otherwise explained than by assuming that after the barbarism of the time of the Judges, Samuel effected the same kind of reformation as Ezra did after the captivity. That is to say, that he obtained a victory for the religion of the law, though only for its substance; for a complete accordance of the community and of public custom with the letter of the law can at no period, not even the post-exilian, be predicated of Israel.

The pre-exilian history requires on its bright side also the existence of a divine Thorah falling back upon the mediatorship of Moses. The regulations of David and Solomon, the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah, are based upon it. The sacred authority of the prophets, and the oneness of spirit shown by the prophets of both kingdoms, notwithstanding the totally different circumstances in which they found themselves, are, apart from the radical unity of a God-given documentary foundation, incomprehensible.

The just claims of the postulate of a Mosaic Thorah find confirmation in post-Mosaic literature also from unhesitating historical testimony. It is true that neither סיני nor חֹרֵב are mentioned in the fifteen prophetic books, but the song of Deborah, Judg. v. 4, celebrates the revelation of God upon Mount Sinai as taking place amidst wondrous phenomena of nature. Micah, vi. 4, names Moses, Aaron, and Miriam as leaders out of the house of bondage in Egypt, at the same time testifying that this time of deliverance was a time of miracles, which will, according to vii. 15, be repeated in the latter days. It is not only in the Pentateuch that Moses is exalted as a prophet, Hosea also regards him as such in a pre-eminent sense when he says, xii. 13: By a prophet did Jahveh lead Israel out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved. And Jeremiah, with unmistakeable reference to what is related Ex. xxxii,

11–14, 31 sq., speaks of him (xv. 1) as powerful in prayer. What we read, too, Isa. lxiii. 10 sq., is, though belonging to the period of the exile, a noteworthy historical testimony. The prophet here declares that when Israel was delivered from bondage under Moses, the Holy Spirit (רוח הקדש) manifested His agency in the midst of the people. Thus post-Mosaic prophecy confirms what is related, Num. xi. 23–xii. 13, of the activity of prophetic life in the time of Moses, and of the closeness of his communion with God; it affirms that the deliverance from Egypt, and what followed during the forty years between Egypt and Canaan (Amos ii. 10), is that act of God which impressed upon the people of Israel the *character indelebilis* of their nationality; and thus justifies us in assuming a Mosaic Thorah, a Mosaic basis for the Pentateuch.

Nor less does psalmody, in which David has at least an epoch-making importance, afford such justification. Ps. xix. is held by Hitzig to be Davidic in all its three parts, and he pronounces the second part especially to be in every respect of great antiquity. The Thorah, which David here extols, must be a documentary instruction of God as to how we are to walk according to His will, and it must have had a fixed form, for David speaks of something universally known, while the series of synonyms תורה, עדות, פקודי, מצות, יראת, משפטי (with which Riehm compares xviii. 23, 31) testifies to the copiousness of its contents. That the piety expressed in the Psalms is not a fruit of the prophecy of the eighth century, results from the fact that acknowledged Davidic psalms already spiritualize ceremonies into symbols and condemn their merely external performance. Ps. iv. has, as Hitzig acknowledges, its historical foundation in 1 Sam. xxx. 6. Whether זבחי צדק, iv. 6, are here meant of sacrifices, which consist in righteousness to their offerer, or of such as are offered with a right disposition (which with regard to Ps. li. 21, Deut. xxxiii. 19, I prefer), זבחי צדק still remain a contrast to sacrifices as dead works, which are worthless before God.

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Before endeavouring to obtain a historico-critical view of the origin and composition of the Pentateuch, we will take a view of the work according to its traditional appellation, division, and plan. It is divided into five parts, into which, in its present state, it naturally separates. For the second book begins with a recapitulation, the third has a boundary towards the second in the homogeneousness of its contents, and towards the fourth in a subscribed formula, the fourth is also terminated by a formula, and the fifth concludes with the death of Moses, as the first does with the deaths of Jacob and Joseph. Hence it is called ἡ πεντάτευχος, viz. βίβλος (Lat. *pentateuchus*, viz. *liber*, therefore masc.), which is composed of πέντε and τεῦχος, according to Alexandrian diction, the same as *volumen*. In the Hebrew Codex, and as the chief book preserved in the sacred chest (ארון) of the synagogue, and read in divine worship, it is called תורה (ה), the instruction, viz. of God (from ירה, to throw, Hiph. to throw out, *i.e.* the hand to point), in the New Test. ὁ νόμος (from νέμειν, to assign), the rule of life or the law, *i.e.* of Israel, and the five parts (books) are called חמשה חומשי התורה, for חומַשׁ (the Aramaic noun form answering to the Hebrew segolate חֹמֶשׁ) means the fifth. But as רובַע means not only the fourth but also the square, so חומַשׁ may also mean something divided into five (מְחֻמָּשׁ); consequently חומַשׁ is not only the name of each of the five books, so that, *e.g.*, the first book is called חומש ראשון לחמשה חומשי התורה, but also that of the five books together. The Thorah in its extra-synagogal use, and more externally and, so to speak, secularly designated, is called חומש. The Talmud also pluralizes it חומָשִׁין, *e.g.* Chagiga 14[a]; but the Masora already calls, *e.g.* a manuscript of the Thorah coming from Jericho, or perhaps Lunel in France, חומש יריחו.

That the division into five parts is testified by Philo and Josephus, is merely in conformity with the LXX.; but Hävernick and v. Lengerke were mistaken in thinking that it proceeded from the Alexandrians. The Psalter also is divided into חמשה חומשין (*Kiddushin* 33*a*), and indeed כנגד, *i.e.*

corresponding to, the five books of the Thorah (Midrash on Ps. i. 1). It was thus divided after the pattern of the Thorah, as its echo from the heart of the Church, as early as the time of the Chronicler (see chap. iv. of our introduction to the Psalter). Hence the division of the Thorah into five parts was a sacred custom long before the end of the Persian period.[1] We are however entirely without a settled point from which to date backwards into the pre-exilian period, and here already the view presses itself upon us that the Pentateuch, though coming down to us, so far as its foundation is concerned, from the days of Moses, is as to its present form and final redaction post-exilic.

The five books are in Hebrew each designated by names taken from their opening words: ספר בראשית, ס' שמות, ס' ויקרא, ס' במדבר (not *Vajedabber*, as we find it in Jerome, and which is its Masoretic name), ס' אלה הדברים. Less usual is the enumeration חומש ראשון, חומש שני, etc. But the title תורת כהנים (the Thorah of the priests) of the third book is in frequent use, as is also the name of the fourth book, חומש הפקודים (the fifth of the mustered), by which it was already known to Origen. The designation of the first book as ספר הישר appears in the Talmud (*jer Sota* i. 10) as a private view connected with 2 Sam. i. 18, but it also occurs elsewhere.[2] Ben-Asher (*Dikduke hateamim*, ed. Baer and Strack, p. 57) gives it as ס' הישרים (book of the upright, *i.e.* ancestors), in conformity with *Abodah zarah* 25*a* (ס' אברהם יצחק ויעקב שנקראו ישרים). The names ס' נזיקין and ס' תוכחות denote the second and fifth books synecdochically according to prominent portions, the former (book of those who commit injuries) after Ex. xxi. and xxii., the latter (book of the curses) after Deut. xxvii. and xxviii. The third book bears the name ספרא (the

[1] The division into seven books, spoken of *Shabbath* 116*a*, rests only upon the private view that the important passage, Num. x. 35, 36, constitutes a separate host, and supports itself by Prov. ix. 1, חצבה עמודיה שבעה.

[2] See Raphael Kirchheim, Preface to the Hebrew commentary on Chronicles of the tenth century, edited by him (1874); comp. Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 439.

book) only as the title of the Midrash upon it, just as the Day of Atonement bears the name יומא (the day) as the title of the Talmudic tractate upon it. The title משנה תורה of the fifth book will come into special consideration farther on.

The Alexandrino-Greek designations of the five books, copied in the Syriac, are short and good. The first book is called *Γένεσις*, complete *Γένεσις κόσμου*, Syr. *b'rithâ*, translated back into Greek, *Κτίσις*, according to which a commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia (Fragments edited by Sachau, 1869) was entitled, *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς κτίσεως*; the second, *Ἔξοδος*, complete *Ἔξοδος Αἰγύπτου*, Syr. *mapḳânâ;* the third, *Λευιτικόν* (the Levites book, Lat. *Leviticus*, i.e. *liber*), Syr. *sefra d'kâhne* (the priests' book); the fourth, with reference to the enumerations of the people in the second and fortieth years of the exodus, *Ἀριθμοί* (Numbers, or also, according to the phrase *ἀριθμὸν ποιεῖν*, *censum habere:* enumerations), Syr. *menjane;* the fifth, *Δευτερονόμιον*, Syr. *tenjâ(n) nâmûsâ* (Deuterosis of the Nomos).

We will now endeavour to make a survey of the contents and plan of this whole of five parts, in which it will be shown that the order, not only of the historical, but also of the legislative matter, is, or is intended to be, chronological. For regulations and laws are always described just where the course of the national history or even more fortuitous incidents gave occasion for them. It is no systematic code that we have to deal with, but a historical work, which, following the thread of the national development, describes how Israel, after becoming a free nation, obtained by degrees a legal constitution.

The *first* book begins with the creation of the world; the Thorah has no corresponding conclusion: the five primæval Toledoth (of heaven and earth, chaps. i.–iv., of Adam, v.–vi. 8, of Noah, vi. 9–ix., of the sons of Noah, x. 1–xi. 9, of Shem, xi. 10–26) form the foundation of the history of redemption in its entire world-embracing course. The call

of Abram and his entrance into Canaan are, on the other hand, the first direct preparation for the setting apart of the people of the history of redemption, and to this end the five patriarchal Toledoth (of Terah, xi. 27, xxv. 11, of Ishmael, xxv. 12–18, of Isaac, xxv. 19, xxxv., of Esau, xxxvi., of Jacob, xxxvii.–l.) contribute. Here the covenant line is carried on, with the branching off of the collateral lines down to where we have, without further ramification, in the twelve sons of Jacob, the ancestral family, which was transplanted to Egypt, there to mature into a nation of twelve tribes.[1] In the *second* book Egypt is the scene of the history till chap. xii. 36, when upon the occasion of the tenth Egyptian plague, the slaying of the first-born, and of the now imminent exodus, the Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread were instituted. A continuation of the law of the Passover and the law of the First-born is interwoven in the history of the march from Ramses to the Red Sea, xii. 37–xiv. The song of praise for deliverance, xv. 1–21, forms the partition between the exodus and the march in the wilderness. Israel arrives, under God's gracious and miraculous guidance, at Sinai, xv. 22–xvii. In two ascents of Sinai Moses receives the fundamental laws, xix.–xxiv., and the directions concerning the sanctuaries to be prepared, xxv.–xxxi. Having again obtained pardon from the Lord for his rebellious people, xxxii.–xxxiv., the preparation of the sanctuaries advances, and the abode of Jahveh is set up, xxxv.–xl. This took place on the first day of the first month of the second year. The *third* book contains throughout precepts and proceedings during this one first month. The offering Thorah, i.–vii., is followed by the account of the consecration of the priests, viii.–ix. (the performance of which was anticipated Ex. xl. 16), interrupted by the trespass and catastrophe of Nadab and Abihu (viii.–x.). A

[1] Lagarde, *Orientalia*, ii. 40 sq., enumerates the ten Toledoths differently: he sets aside ii. 4, and looks upon Num. iii. 1, the Toledoth of Aaron, as the centre of gravity of the ten. It is also in his eyes a proof of the post-exilian standpoint of the author of the Hexateuch.

series of laws concerning cleanness, uncleanness and purification begins, ch. xi., with the laws concerning clean and unclean animals. All these laws find their climax in the ritual of the day of atonement, xi.–xvi. The laws that follow, xvii.–xxvi. 2, with the peroration, xxvi. 3 sqq., are all pervaded with the sentiment that the God of Israel is the Holy One. They form series which are in part connected with each other (xvii. prohibition of blood, xviii. incest, xx. penal appointments), but are without premeditated succession. It is striking that directions concerning the candelabra and the shewbread, xxiv. 1–9, and a further carrying out of the penal law, xxiv. 10, are inserted between the cycle of annual festivals, ch. xxiii., and the cycle of epoch festivals, ch. xxx., while ch. xx. is a mosaic of moral, ritual and judicial precepts. The series of laws concerning sacred consecrations, ch. xxvii., already gives to Leviticus an outlook towards Numbers. The *fourth* book transports us from the first month of the second year to the beginning of the second month. It begins, chs. i.–x., with measures to be taken preparatory to decamping; but this compact whole, concluding with the signal words of Moses, is interrupted by interpolations of laws which seem inserted where the occurrences of the time call them forth. Manifestations of God in mercy and judgment during the second year follow, chs. xi.–xiv., and laws for the period of their future settlement in Canaan, ch. xv. Then we have in its chronological place the history of Korah's rebellion, chs. xvi.–xviii. The law of the red heifer comes in not unexpectedly, ch. xix., in view of the great field of dead bodies. But ch. xx. leaps quite without notice or connection from the second to the fortieth year. Israel is now as it was thirty-eight years ago at the fatal Kadesh-Barnea. The sad events of ch. xx. are followed by circumstances tending again to exalt the people, especially the frustrations of Balaam's curse, xxii.–xxiv., which however is rendered vain by Israel, ch. xxv. A second numbering of the people takes place in the plains of Moab, ch. xxvi. A demand on the part of the daughters of Zelophehad gives rise to the law concerning

heiresses, ch. xxvii. 1–11. After Moses has, in view of his approaching death, appointed the man who is to lead the people into Canaan, xxvii. 12 sqq., follows the completion of the law of sacrifice with reference to the ritual to be more abundantly provided for by the people now soon to be settled, chs. xxviii., xxix. The law of vows of the second year (in Leviticus) is also expanded by new ones, ch. xxx. Moses takes vengeance on the Midianites, and on the occasion of this war laws are given concerning spoil and the rights of war, ch. xxxi. Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh receive the possessions awarded them in the land east of Jordan, ch. xxxii. In ch. xxxiii., Moses specifies the stations, the boundaries of the land are laid down and its division arranged for, ch. xxxiv., the cities of the Levites and the cities of refuge are set apart, ch. xxxv., and a new law restricting the marriage of heiresses, ch. xxxvi., brings the Moabite legislation to a close. The *fifth* book now follows; it contains discourses and institutions of Moses during the first days of the eleventh month of the fortieth year, and hence stands chronologically in its right place. But it may be abstracted from the structure of the Pentateuch without destroying the latter. For at ch. xxxii. 48 the history continues in the tone of Numbers. The divine command to ascend Nebo, one of the mountains of Abarim, and to die there, is repeated; and the narrative continued to the death of Moses and there concluded.

Before proceeding to our analysis, we affirm upon the ground of the survey just taken—(1) that the Pentateuch is no code of law like the portions of the Justinian legislation in the *Corpus juris civilis;* it contains separate *codices legum*, but is not itself a *codex legum*. Nor is it a code in the form of a history of law, its contents are not exhausted in the legal and historico-legal portions,—it is a historical work, in which the previous history of Israel and their history till the death of Moses are depicted. It is true that the history of the Sinaitic legislation and of its Moabite development and completion forms the chief body of the historical matter. And an observation with

respect to this fact, which pressed upon us in our reproduction of its contents is (2) the correspondence between the succession of the laws according to their period of origination and the character of the historical work as such. For even where the historical circumstances are absent, the sequence of internally disconnected matters can only be comprehended on the assumption of an intention to give them in chronological order. We find an example of this in the fact that the law of the later celebration of the Passover, Num. ix. 1–14, an addition to the Passover law of Exodus, stands in the midst of the history of the second month of the second year, while it is expressly said that, when the Passover was to be celebrated in the first month of the second year, an additional celebration of this festival was permitted to those who were prevented by defilement. The position of this law is not indeed that of its origination, but it is found with a retrospective statement of this, where it was first put in practice.[1] This circumstance affords matter for thought. Could the author, instead of placing related matters in their natural connection, have thrown together things dissimilar for the purpose of giving an artificial appearance of historical succession? We are here placed in the dilemma between unfair suspicion and the acceptance of a historical knowledge apparently surpassing probability.

The Pentateuch is then a historical work which chiefly relates the circumstances under which the legislation arose. The book of Joshua carries on the history, that of Judges starts from the close of Joshua, the books of Samuel begin with a continuation of the times of the Judges, the books of Kings are characterized even more than the others as parts of a whole by their beginning with ויהי—the Pentateuch in its present form appears as the fundamental portion of the collective historical work continued in Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, which beginning the history of Israel from the

[1] See my "Pentateuch-kritischen Studien," in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift* (1882), p. 114 sqq.

Creation relates it down to the middle of the Captivity (2 Kings xxv. 27 sqq.). It was not till after the Captivity and, as may be inferred from the book of Sirach, in pre-Maccabean times,[1] when the whole of these specially distinguished national writings were divided into תורה, נביאים and כתובים, that the Pentateuch received the name תורה, as containing the law of Israel. Nowhere in the canonical books of the O. T. itself, when the expression the Thorah, or book of the Thorah, the Thorah of God, the Thorah of Moses is used, is the writing there intended equivalent with the Pentateuch in its present plan, composition and conclusion. This is not the case either in the history of Joshua, Josh. i. 8, or Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xvii. 9, nor finally even in the history of Ezra–Nehemiah, Neh. viii. 1 sq. Besides, this denomination has more frequently in view Deuteronomy alone (Josh. viii. 30–32; 2 Kings xiv. 6, xxii.); moreover, as we shall presently see, the book of the Thorah, which Moses, according to Deut. xxxi., delivered to the Levitical priests, was not entirely identical with Deuteronomy in its present state as a fifth part of the Pentateuch.

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All individual criticism, *i.e.* investigation of the character and origin of a work—says Böckh[2]—ultimately rests on the testing of the credibility of external evidence. The name כפר תורת משה, Josh. viii. 31, xxiii. 6, 2 Kings xiv. 6, Neh. viii. 1, or briefly ספר משה, Ezra iii. 18, Neh. xiii. 1, 2 Chron. xxv. 4, xxxv. 12, comp. Mark xii. 20, cannot be regarded as such external evidence for the composition of the whole Pentateuch by Moses, even supposing that it referred to the Pentateuch exactly as we have it. For although in this case משה is *gen. subjecti* and not, as *e.g.* in ספר מלכים, *gen. objecti*, yet the name, in the most modern writings also, tells us no more than that Moses was the mediator of the law codified in

[1] It is more than questionable whether what Ezra read in the year 440 (Bleek, *Einleitung*, § 273) was the Pentateuch in its present form of a historical work, it can only be assumed that this great collective work was edited by Ezra.

[2] *Encyklopädie und Methodologie* (1877), p. 230.

the Pentateuch. In the later synagogue indeed (*Sanhedrin* 99*a*), and also according to traditional church opinion, Moses is esteemed the composer of the whole Pentateuch from its first letter to its last. The last eight verses are indeed declared by the well-known Mishnic tradition (*Barajtha*) in the tractate *Baba bathra* to be an addition by Joshua. But besides this view there is another, that no letter could have been missing in the book of the Law which Moses delivered to the custody of the priests, and thus that down "to וימת (xxxiv. 5) the Holy One, blessed be He, spoke, and Moses repeated and wrote down, and that from this וימת onwards He spake, and Moses wrote with tears."[1] What an unpsychological view of the act of inspiration! Certainly on the ground of Deut. xxxi. 24–26, if we identify the laws and the history, the opinion might be established, that Moses was the author of the entire Pentateuchal history.—In the N. T. also the Pentateuch is called ἡ βίβλος Μωϋσέως, Mark xii. 26, or just Μωϋσῆς, Acts xv. 21, 2 Cor. iii. 15; and when injunctions or sayings are quoted from it (*e.g.* from Exodus, Luke xx. 37; Leviticus, Mark i. 44, Rom. x. 5; Deuteronomy, Mark xii. 19, Rom. x. 19), Moses is named as the speaker and writer.—For our Lord and His apostles conceive of the Thorah as might be expected of them as members of their nation; it is to them the work of Moses. They regard it as proceeding from the revelation of God. But it is not yet God's full and final revelation, hence they intentionally emphasize the human side of its origin, without regard to the directness or indirectness of the authorship of Moses, which lay outside their exalted and practical object, and was, moreover, alien to the character of their age. It is important to us, that they too were penetrated by the conviction, that Moses was the mediator of the law, through which Israel became the people of God; but historico-critical investigation as to his share as author in the composition of the Pentateuch is left free as far as N. T. statements are concerned.

[1] *Bathra* 15*a*, and also *Menachoth* 30*a*.

From external traditional evidence, we turn to the evidence of the Pentateuch itself concerning the share Moses had in its composition. There are certain passages in the three middle books, the writing of which by Moses is expressly testified. 1. The Book of the Covenant contained in Ex. xx.–xxiii. (ספר הברית, xxiv. 7) or the fundamental laws of the Sinaitic covenant, combined with the Decalogue, which laws Moses is said (xxiv. 4) to have written down. 2. The laws of the renewed Sinaitic covenant promulgated in connection with the restoration of the two tables in Ex. xxxiv., which, according to xxxiv. 27, Moses was to write. 3. Jahveh's decree to destroy Amalek, which Moses was to write in a book for the observance of Joshua, Ex. xvii. 14 (where we have בַּסֵּפֶר, as in 1 Sam. x. 25).[1] 4. The list of the stations (Num. xxxiii.) which Moses is said (xxxiii. 2) to have written. To these must be added, according to the statements in Deuteronomy, 5, the Thorah contained in Deut. xxxi. 9, 24, and, 6, the שירה appended in ch. xxxii. which Moses and Joshua were enjoined (xxxi. 19) to write, and which, according to xxxi. 32, was written by Moses. This testified writing of certain passages by Moses does not justify the conclusion that he was the author of the whole, which is besides inconceivable with respect to the narrative of his death and such eulogiums as we find Ex. xi. 3; Num. xii. 3. For even supposing that התורה הזאת, which Moses is said, according to Deut. xxxi., to have written to the end in a book, had begun at Gen. i. 1 and closed with the final testamentary words of Deuteronomy, still all lying between this beginning and ending could not be without exception intended. Where התורה הזאת or הספר הזה or ספר התורה הזה occurs in Deuteronomy, we are nowhere obliged to extend this expression beyond the Deuterosis of the law in the plains of Moab. Retrospects of the Sinaitic legislation appear in another form, v. 12, 16, xxiv. 8, while, on the other hand, התורה הזאת is at

[1] In both passages כתב בַּסֵּפֶר, to put in writing, the article is the specific, as in כַּסֵּפֶר in Isa. xxxiv. 4.

iv. 5 limited by the addition "which I set before you this day" to the legislation of the fortieth year. זאת התורה, iv. 44, points onward to what follows, and "this book (of the Thorah)," xxviii. 58, 61, xxix. 19, 20, 26, is evidently that which, when the speaker alludes to it, is still in process of formation and approaching its completion. According to this, התורה הזאת also, i. 5, points not backwards, but forwards. "Moses made plain the following Thorah," *i.e.* he set about delivering it (comp. xxvii. 8), so as to be generally understood. And it is self-evident that the command, xxvii. 8, to write "all the words of this law upon the stones of Mount Ebal" (comp. Josh. viii. 30 sqq.), refers not to the whole book of Deuteronomy, but only to a *nucleus legis* contained in Deuteronomy.

Hence the evidence of direct writing down by Moses refers to certain passages of the Thorah, not to the whole Thorah, and by no means to the whole Pentateuch. And criticism of the Pentateuch, if it is to proceed methodically, must commence with an examination of this evidence.

We must not be beguiled from admitting a just claim by the fact, that adversaries of Christianity and of revealed religion were the first to deny that Moses was the author of the five books of Moses. A philosopher in the *Ἀποκριτικός* of Macarius the Magnesian (edited by Blondel, Paris 1876), asserts, that nothing written by Moses was preserved, but that all was burnt when the temple was reduced to ashes, and that what now bears the name of Moses was written 1800 years afterwards *ὑπὸ Ἔσδρα καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν.* The emperor Julian (in Cyril of Alexandria) pronounced a more moderate judgment; he regarded the Pentateuch, of whose religious contents he forms a low estimate, as not entirely the work of Moses, but partly of Ezra: *ποτὲ δὲ τὸν Ἔσδραν ἀπὸ γνώμης ἰδίας προσενεγκεῖν τινα διατείνεται.* There is somewhat more reason to be assigned for what Carlstadt, *de canonicis scripturis*, 1520, Hobbes in the *Leviathan*, 1670, and Spinoza in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, 1670, already say concern-

ing the Pentateuch.[1] But the beginning of critical analysis dates from the French physician Astruc, a believer in Scripture (died at Paris 1766), and the author of *Conjectures sur les Mémoires originaux, dont il paroit que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse*, Brussels 1753, of which Goethe says: "Astruc, a physician of Louis XIV., was the first to lay line and plummet to the Pentateuch; and what have not amateurs, interested in science and unprejudiced guests, been already guilty of!" Astruc is the founder of the document hypothesis, and above all of a discrimination of two chief authors according to their use of the name of God. Accepted by Eichhorn, this document hypothesis was extended to the whole Pentateuch, other indications of authorship besides the name of God being discovered. In thus straying beyond Genesis, it became the fragment hypothesis. This was confirmed by the Englishman Geddes, and developed by Vater and Hartmann, who regard the Pentateuch as a variegated mosaic in the composition of which there is more of chance than of plan. Dissatisfaction with this opinion, and the endeavour to throw light upon the origin of a book, which was on the whole and in its greater portion a single work, transformed the document hypothesis into the completion hypothesis. This was ingeniously carried out by Tuch, who in his *Commentary on Genesis*, 1838, distinguishes throughout the Jehovist as the completer and enlarger from the Elohist, the author of the fundamental work, but without taking any further part in Pentateuch criticism. In place of this simple state of affairs, Ewald puts a complicated succession of five, or, reckoning Deuteronomy, six authors. This incited to fresh analysis, but without any decided advance. Hupfeld's paper on the Sources of Genesis (1835), on the contrary, represents an advance which has stood the test. He shook the completion hypothesis, by making it probable that the Jehovistic portions of the Penta-

[1] The most thorough information concerning these precursors of Pentateuch criticism is given in p. 1 of Curtis's "Sketches on Pentateuch Criticism," in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. xli. (Oberlin, Ohio), 1884 and onwards.

teuch had originally formed an independent history, and by showing (what Ilgen, *Urkunden des jerus. Tempelarchivs*, 1798, had already remarked) that two Elohistic narrators are to be distinguished. Thus the question now arose as to the relation in which the Jehovist and the second Elohist stand to each other. Hupfeld regards them as two independent authorities; but Nöldeke, in his *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T.* 1869, endeavours to show that the work of the second Elohist was quoted and worked into his own history by the Jehovist. The author of the so-called fundamental narrative was still esteemed the older of the two Elohists, till Graf (who died 1869 as gymnasial Professor at Meissen), propagating and developing the views of Reuss, his Strasburg tutor, transformed the theory thus far held with respect to the Pentateuch, by pointing out, on grounds some of them beyond the mark, but some convincing, that the Elohistic fundamental narrative is not the most ancient, but the most recent, and indeed a post-exilian element of the Pentateuch, including also the primæval history section. This latter statement is as he admits, when pressed by Riehm, the consequence of such a date (his chief work is *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des A. T.* 1866). Kayser (*Das vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israels und seine Erweiterungen*, 1874) and Wellhausen ("Composition des Hexateuchs," in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theologie*, 1876–77) have carried out the analysis of the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua in conformity with these principles. Wellhausen's *Geschichte Israels* (vol. i. 1878, ed. 2, 3, with the *T. Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 1883, 86) is the most important work on this standpoint. It has attained in the region of Scripture a power over minds, which may be compared to Hartmann's *Philosophie des Unbewussten*. It has, as the *Evang. KZ.* says, "on a sudden completely captivated a great number of our academic theologians." It has gained its most learned and influential allies in W. Robertson Smith (chief work, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Edinburgh 1881), and Abr. Kuenen, whose lectures on national and universal religion (German 1883) are

an ingenious attempt to fit the legislation of the middle books of the Pentateuch as post-exilian into, and to make them appear as essential members of a state of development aiming at Christianity. Dillmann, in his new edition of Knobel's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, takes up an independent separate position. All the divergences of his analysis, however, are of small note before the one that he embraces, the pre-exilian origin of the legislation of the middle books, although he makes the final redaction of the whole take place in the time of Ezra.

I have purposely sketched the course of development taken by the criticism of the Pentateuch only in its main points, and therefore incompletely. Much has in this department been produced laboriously, only to be forgotten, and to serve as litter to prepare the soil for a fresh aftergrowth.

No intelligent observer will however deny that the work of investigation has gone onwards and not moved in a circle. The factors which have to be taken account of with respect to the composition of the Pentateuch have obtained recognition, and since the completion hypothesis has been set aside, fellow-labourers in this field are divided less by the different results of analysis, than by their different religious position towards Holy Scripture, and their different manner of turning such results to account with respect to sacred history.

In the first edition of my *Commentary on Genesis*, 1852, I already advocated the claims of critical analysis, and obtained herein the concurrence of J. H. Kurtz. In the later editions I acknowledged the necessity of distinguishing two Elohistic narrators. Later on the more recent revolution in the criticism of the Pentateuch so far influenced me that I now perceive also, as my eighteen articles in Luthardt's *Zeitschr.* 1880 and 1881 show, that the writer, with whose account of the Creation the Pentateuch opens, is not relatively to the narrator of the occurrences in Paradise the more ancient, but the more recent, and that the historico-legal and literary process by which the Pentateuch was brought into its present form, was continued down to the post-exilian period. Nevertheless my

view of the circumstances differs essentially and on principle from the modern one. This difference will come out more and more distinctly, when, before investigating the self-evidence of the Thorah, we have explained the present state of analysis and its technical terms.

The work, which was formerly called the Elohistic fundamental work, and may still be entitled the fundamental work, inasmuch as it forms the scaffolding of the whole in the form in which the Pentateuch at present exists, begins with Gen. i. 1–ii. 4*a*. Dillmann designates this portion, which relates mainly to worship and law, *A;* we, following the more usual and significant appellations of Wellhausen, call it *Q* (book of four covenants). It is simply impossible that Gen. ii. 5–iv. should proceed from the same author. The writer whose book opens with these primæval histories is the Jahvist. Dillmann calls him *C;* we name him *J*. With chap. xx., if not before, a third narrator makes his appearance, who like *Q* calls God אלהים down to the Mosaic turn of the history, but is distinguished by a mode of statement and tone of speech peculiar to himself. As long as *Q* was regarded as the more ancient Elohist, he was called the second Elohist; but their relation is reversed: he is the older Elohist. Dillmann calls him *B;* we call him *E*. The works of *J* and *E* seem to have been blended into a whole even before Deuteronomy received its final form; we call this whole *JE*, while Wellhausen calls the writer who blended *J* and *E* the Jehovist, to distinguish him from the Jahvist. *Q* moreover has been gradually enlarged, and the work which thus came to maturity, at all events within the priestly order, called as it was to propagate the law, is now called the Priest-Codex, the letters for this being *PC*. To the collections of laws included in *PC* belongs a special *corpus legum* in Lev. xvii.–xxv., with the peroration in xxvi., which we, after Klostermann, call the Law of Holiness, and designate by *LH*, because it enforces its prescriptions by אני יהוה, and therewith lays stress on the fact that Jahveh is the Holy One, and He who makes holy. It

forms a middle term between the Jehovistic-Deuteronomic matter and diction and that of the Priest-Codex, with which it is now blended. The sign for Deuteronomy in its original and independent form is *D*. We call its author the Deuteronomian; while, on the other hand, we call the writer, who among the re-touchers of the Pentateuch manifests in his insertions the Deuteronomic view and mode of statement, the Deuteronomist. His interposing hand makes itself felt throughout the whole Pentateuch, the purely legislative part of *PC* excepted, though not by far to the extent and with the frequency that it does so in the post-Pentateuchal historical books. Perhaps he may be identified with the author of Deuteronomy in its present form. If a letter were wanted to denote him, *Dt* seems appropriate, as does *R*, set down by Dillmann as a joint designation for the hands that took part in the final redaction and form of the Pentateuch. Analysis will have to continue uncertain and often to be contented with possibility and probability in particulars; but, in general, the constituents above described may all be distinguished. Such distinction naturally involves temporal succession, but not a prejudgment concerning the date of composition of each component part. And though in more nearly determining such dates we should have to advance to far more recent times than the Mosaic, yet this does not exclude the facts, that the narrative is based on tradition and that the codified law grows from Mosaic roots. Dillmann too acknowledges ancient foundations in the Priest-Codex and in Deuteronomy, which he sometimes marks with *S* (Sinai), his cipher for the Law of Holiness. This leads us back to that self-testimony of the Pentateuch which we were about to examine, and first to that Book of the Covenant, with the Decalogue at its head, which according to Ex. xxiv. was written by Moses and read by him in the audience of the people when they entered into covenant with God at Sinai.

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The Decalogue announces itself as that which is relatively most Divine in the Law; but even it forms no exception to the

universal fact, that in Divine revelation, whether by word or writing, everything is, at the same time, both Divine and human. The mind of the mediator must have been the factory in which the Divine thoughts of "the ten words" took linguistic expression. The human words in which God's revelation is here set are the words of Moses. Now the Decalogue being esteemed the most radical document of the Sinaitic legislation, and (assuming that here all is not doubtful and obscure) the most genuine of genuine productions (comp. Ps. xxiv., acknowledged by Ewald as Davidic, with Ex. xx. 7), we may to some extent form from it an idea of the mode of thought and language of Moses. The Decalogue then, not only in the text of Deut. v. 6–18, but also in the text of the Book of the Covenant, Ex. xx. 2–17, is Jehovistico-Deuteronomic, comp. מבית עבדים, and Ex. xiii. 3, 14; Deut. vi. 12, viii. 8, etc.; אלהים אחרים (in the Decalogue and in the Book of the Covenant, xxiii. 13), with Deut. vi. 14, vii. 4, etc.; השמים מעל, found only out of the Decalogue, Deut. iv. 39; המים מתחת לארץ only Deut. iv. 18; אל קַנָּא as in Deut. iv. 24, vi. 15; אָמָה as in Deuteronomy, where, except xxviii. 68, שפחה nowhere occurs; בשעריך as about twenty times in Deuteronomy and nowhere else in the Pentateuch. Also פנים of the Person of God, תמונה form, חמד with an accusative object, probably also עד, testifying = to bear witness to, to enhance the Jehovistico-Deuteronomic expression. The circumstance however that אשר ה' אלהיך נתן לך is a formula of promise running through the whole of Deuteronomy from i. 20 to xxxii. 52, and that למען יאריכו וגו' is a favourite Deuteronomic motive, iv. 40, vi. 2, xi. 9, xvii. 20, xxv. 15, weighs more in the balance, and most of all, that לְאֹהֲבִי is based upon the saying: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," which in the Pentateuch is exclusively Deuteronomic, vi. 5, xi. 1. This one expression לאהבי shows by itself that the Decalogue is written in the spirit of Deuteronomy, for just the thought, that man can and must love God, is of central importance in this book. And if with Ed. König, *Offenbarungsbegriff*, ii. 346, Kittle, *Geschichte*, i. 225, and others,

the Decalogue is regarded as "copiously provided with commentating additions and enlargements," there still remains in the original form to which it is reduced the Jehovistico-Deuteronomian אלהים אחרים (xx. 3, and in the Book of the Covenant xxiii. 13; comp. Deut. vi. 14, vii. 4, viii. 19, etc.). על־פני, comp. Deut. iv. 37; פנים = person, תמחה, comp. Deut. iv. 12, xvi. 23, 25 (Reminiscences of the Decalogue), and also Num. xii. 8 (Jehov), עֵד, the same as עֵדוּת, Deut. xxxi. 21; חמד with acc. of object, like Deut. vii. 25 and Ex. xxxiv. 24 (Jehovistic).

How then is this Jehovistico-Deuteronomic composition of the Decalogue to be explained? "Some passages," says Wellhausen,[1] "have a Deuteronomic tinge; there is certainly a back current from Deut. v. in Ex. xx." Dillmann too does not get on without the admission of such a current from the Deuteronomic text of the Decalogue into that of Exodus. We however relinquish these expedients, and renounce the reduction of the Decalogue to an imaginary original form; and the ten words being in both texts equally Jehovistico-Deuteronomic, we infer, that if, of the two characteristically distinct modes of statement in the Pentateuch, one falls back upon an original Mosaic type, it is the Jehovistic-Deuteronomic and not the Elohistic. Nor does the grounding of the observation of the Sabbath, Ex. xx. 11, on the seventh day of creation contain anything characteristically Elohistic. If it did, it would show itself to be thereby a more recent interpolation. It does not follow from Deut. v. 15, where another motive for the Sabbath commandment is given, that it is such. The Decalogue is there freely rendered in the flow of hortatory oratory, and not literally reproduced. On the other hand it may be inferred, from the lyric echo in Ps. viii., that this narrative of the creation was extant in the time of David. Much more then may we assume, that the tradition therein committed to writing was already known to Moses. And why should we not admit that in Gen. ii. 2 sq. *Q* is conforming

[1] "Composition of the Hexateuchs," in *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.* 1876, p. 558 sq.

with the reason for the Sabbath commandment found in the Decalogue?

We now turn to the Book of the Covenant and the law of the second tables. The former comprises the fundamental laws of the first covenant, xx. 22 sqq., xxi.–xxiii., the latter those of the renewed covenant, ch. xxxiv.; both portions come from *JE*. The fundamental laws of the renewed covenant are a compendious although in many points an extended repetition of the former fundamental laws. Ch. xxxiv. is characterized as the more recent recapitulation by the circumstance, that it gives for שְׁלֹשׁ רְגָלִים, xxiii. 14, the more generally comprehensible שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים (ver. 23 sq.); that Pentecost is not here called, as at xxiii. 16, חג הקציר, but חג שָׁבֻעֹת (ver. 22), as at Deut. xvi. 10, 16 (in *PC* simply שבועות), and that in speaking of the feast of ingathering or close of harvest (whose name feast of tabernacles first appears Deut. xvi. and xxxi. 10, the reason for it being stated Lev. xxiii. 42) the vague expression בְּצֵאת השנה, xxiii. 16, is exchanged for תְּקוּפַת השנה (ver. 22). The legislation is extended vers. 19, 20 (this ver. 20 verbally = xiii. 13 *J*), the law of the first-born, which was only sketched in the Book of the Covenant, xxii. 28*b*, 29, being here more closely defined. The fact that xxiii. 19 is verbally repeated in xxxiv. 26 also speaks for the secondary relation of the law of the second table to the Book of the Covenant. Thus the double testimony that "Moses wrote," given at xxiv. 4 and xxxiv. 27, is reduced to the one, that according to the account in *JE*, *i.e.* both according to *J* and *E*, Moses committed to writing the fundamental laws of the Sinaitic covenant, and our investigation is limited to the question, whether the claim of the undoubtedly older series of laws, xx. 22–xxiii. (apart from the editorial additions which here as everywhere are not to be excluded), is to be acknowledged as justified, or at least as having no decisive reasons against it. We believe that this question must be answered in the affirmative. That these fundamental laws were issued in connection with the Decalogue is confirmed by their grouping. Ewald first and

after him Bertheau (*Die sieben Gruppen mosaischer Gesetze,* 1840) called attention to their tendency to form decades, which here and there, as Ewald subsequently remarked, may be separated into two pentades. The law too of the sacrificial altar, xx. 24–26, is unquestionably older than the directions concerning the tabernacle and its altar of burnt-offering, and older than the institution of the Aaronic priesthood. This is the only passage in the Thorah, which under a certain condition legalizes the במות; there is not a second. The language bears the impress rather of the Decalogue than of the Priest code, to which *e.g.* חדש האביב (xxiii. 15) as a name of the feast of the Passover is unknown. Characteristic of the Book of the Covenant are the undoubtedly antique זְכוּר xxiii., 17, transferred thence to xxxiv. 33; Deut. xvi. 16, xx. 13; the designation of rulers by האלהים and also by פלילים, which occurs elsewhere only in Deut. xxxiii. 31 and thence in Job xxxi. 11; רגלים for פעמים elsewhere only in the section on Balaam, Num. xxii. 28–33. Much is without further authority in the A. T.; we only bring forward יצא לַהֲפִשִׁי, xxi. 2, and שלח לחפשי, xxi. 26 sq.; בְּנַפְשׁוֹ, with his person = he alone, xxi. 3, and עזב, to release, xxiii. 5, with which Dillmann compares עזוב, Deut. xxxii. 36. The colouring is altogether different from that of the *PC* and also of *E* (for words such as אמה and אסן, the latter only again in the history of Joseph, are no marks of *E* in contradistinction to *J* and *D*), but is just that which is peculiar to *J* and in a more developed manner to *D*. Especially has the conclusion with its promises and the peculiar figure of the angel, an unmistakable Jehovistico-Deuteronomic ring. We have before us in the Book of the Covenant as well as in the Decalogue the special Mosaic type, and that in its relatively oldest and purest form.

On the other hand God's penal sentence, "I will utterly blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven," which Moses was to write *in memoriam*, contains nothing linguistically characteristic. The account is however histori-

cal, for Deut. xxv. 17 calls it to remembrance, and 1 Sam. xv. declares, that Saul has forfeited the throne for not having acted in strict accordance with it.

The fact too that Moses wrote a list of the stations is incontestable; but that Num. xxxiii. is his autographic list, is neither said, nor could be proved to be such if it were said. It is however no fictitious record of either *E* or *J*, but an ancient extant document. For (1) we have here the names of twenty stations occurring nowhere else, of which the sixteen, from Rithmah onwards, xxx. 18, seem to belong to the thirty-seven years between the 2nd and 40th. (2) Instead of the three stations from Ijje Abarim, xxx. 45-47, seven others are named in xxi. 12–20. (3) Four of the forty-one stations are also brought forward, Deut. x. 6–9, but with statements not in harmony with Num. xxxiii. The biblical historians reproduce with fidelity traditions differing from each other, and abstain on principle from forced harmonistic interference. In the present case, the testing of the mutual relation of the historico-geographical details is withheld from criticism. On the whole there is striking harmony. For the Pentateuchal narrators are agreed in the two facts, that the sojourn in the wilderness between Egypt and Canaan lasted forty years (comp. Amos ii. 10, v. 25), and that the people having arrived at Kadesh or its neighbourhood, were turned back to wander in the desert for yet thirty-eight years.

Next to Ex. xxiv. 4, the most important self-testimony of the Pentateuch to the ויכתב משה is Deut. xxxi. 9, 24. To be able to examine it critically, we must first call to mind the structure of this book. It is a historical book. In the prophetic books there follow after a short title the words of the prophets named, but here Moses is introduced as a speaker, and indeed in such wise that his discourses are set in a broad framework of historical introductions, conclusions and insertions. Two introductory discourses, i. 6–iv. 40, and v. 1–xi. 32, between which occurs iv. 41–43 (comp. Num. xxxv. 14), the appointment of the three trans-Jordanic cities of refuge,

prepare for the final legislation in view of the approaching occupation of the land and unite it, by a recapitulatory retrospect of the events from Horeb to Kadesh and Moab, with the fundamental legislation. The middle of the book is taken up with the *corpus legum*, c. xii.–xxvi., which, as it was introduced by two prologues, is followed by two perorations. The first of these, xxvii.–xxviii., begins with the command to write after their entry all the words of this Thorah on stones in Mount Ebal, and to proclaim the blessing and the curse upon Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal; the speaker himself developing both in chap. xxviii. (a pendant to Lev. xxvi.). In the second peroration, xxix.–xxx., the covenant with Jahveh is renewed with a reference to the acts of God that have been experienced, and the will of God that has been made known: the blessing and curse are set before the people for their choice, and at the same time a future return from captivity promised them if they repent. Moses then confirms Joshua in his calling, and delivers to the Levitical priests and the elders the Thorah written by himself for periodical public reading, xxxi. 1–13.[1] He and Joshua are also commanded to write the song which follows in chap. xxxii., and the book of the Law completed by this appendix is delivered to the Levites to be kept by the side of the ark of the covenant, xxxi. 14 sqq. The song, together with the concluding exhortation, is purposely placed at the end of the book. At xxxii. 48 the diction of the former books begins again, so that the blessing of Moses, xxxiii., lies outside Deuteronomy properly so called. The historian, who in Deuteronomy relates the testamentary discourses and last directions of Moses, neither is Moses nor intends to be taken for him, for he introduces him as speaking (i. 1–5, iv. 44–49), and admits into the discourses of Moses all kinds of historical (iv. 41–43, x. 6–9) and antiquarian details (ii. 10–12, 20–23, iii. 9, 11, 13*b*, 14), which look the more

[1] That התורה הזאת here is Deuteronomy, is also acknowledged in *Sifri* on Deut. xvii. 18 (105*b*, ed. Friedmann): אין קורין ביום הַקָּהֵל אלא משנה תורה לבד, *i.e.* "on the day of assembly (הַקְהֵל, xxxi. 12) only Deuteronomy is read."

strange the more admirable the deep psychological truth of these discourses as to both their tone and contents is felt to be: they breathe the sincerity of one about to depart, and his grief at the refusal of permission for him to enter the promised land gives them throughout a melancholy keynote.

When Eichhorn says in vol. iii. of his Introduction, that "Deuteronomy bears on every page the stamp of a work written on the borders of the grave," this is a testimony to the great natural and spiritual gifts of the Deuteronomian. We assume for these testamentary discourses a traditional substratum, which the free reproduction follows. This is moreover so spirited and artistic, that neither the freely reproduced discourses of the older prophets in Kings and Chronicles, nor those Psalms in the Psalter composed on the subject of David's condition and state of mind, equal it. The relation of the Deuteronomian to Moses may be compared to the relation of the Isaianic author of Isa. xl.–lx. to that king among prophets, and to the relation of the fourth evangelist to his Master and Lord. The Deuteronomian has completely appropriated the thoughts and language of Moses, and from a genuine oneness of mind with him reproduces them in the highest intensity of Divine inspiration. The writing of history with a tendency or a free invention of historical facts would be contrary to that veracity which is the first of all the requirements to be made of a historian; on the other hand, the historian shows, according to the view of antiquity, the measure of his gifts and the dignity of his vocation in his free reproduction of the discourses of great men.

We cannot then lightly disregard the historical nature of ויכתב משה, Deut. xxxi. It is not the self-testimony of Moses, but testimony concerning him. The Deuteronomian testifies, that Moses before his departure left behind with the priestly order an autograph Thorah to be preserved and disseminated. If this ויכתב משה were intended to apply to the whole book of Deuteronomy in its present state, it would be a pseudepi-

graphic work. But the premiss must be denied, and consequently also this conclusion. The Mosaic Thorah of the fortieth year is indeed contained in Deuteronomy, but not identical with it.

That the testimony, Deut. xxxi. 9, 24, is to be referred merely to the kernel of the Moabite legislation, framed as it is in history and introduced by prologues, may be inferred from xxvii. 8, according to which the people having arrived at Jordan were to write "all the words of this Thorah" in plastered stones on Mount Ebal. The demonstrative הזאת in התורה הזאת, as already remarked, always points in Deuteronomy forwards or to the present, and not backwards to the Sinaitic legislation. So does the התורה הזאת, i. 5; for it is again taken up at iv. 44, vi. 1, and also the התורה הזאת in משנה התורה הזאת of the law concerning the king, xvii. 18, where it is questionable, whether we must translate: a copy of this law, the rare occurrence of את before indeterminate nouns seeming to speak against it, or: the deuterosis of this law = this Deuteronomy. In this latter case הזה would have been clearer, but was not necessary, for xxviii. 61 also changes ספר התורה הזאת for the more frequent ספר התורה הזה, xxix. 20, xxx. 10; Josh. i. 8. The synagogue tradition is itself uncertain; the Midrash,[1] like the LXX., understands it of Deuteronomy, Onkelos, and with him the Peshitta, of a copy (פרשגן, another reading is פתשגן), the Talmud, of a duplum (comp. משנה, Gen. xliii. 15; Deut. xv. 18), *i.e.* a double copy. The account of the carrying out of Moses' injunction, Deut. xxvii. 1–8, which we read in Josh. viii. 30–32, is decisive for the meaning copy, as translated by both the Targum and Peshitta in Josh. viii. 32. As in xvii. 18 so here it is a copy that is spoken of, in the law of the king a copy in a book, here a copy upon memorial stones. And that משנה התורה is not a designation of Deuteronomy, may be inferred from the fact that this book is called in the paragraph immediately preceding Josh. viii. 31, ספר תורת משה. Besides, if it were

[1] *Sifri* (ed. Friedmann) 105*b*.

used to designate Deuteronomy we should rather expect משנה תורת משה אשר כתב than התורה אשר כתב משה. Hence we must translate, "he wrote there upon the stones the (a) copy of the Thorah, which Moses had written in the presence of the children of Israel."

And the Thorah here meant is the recapitulated, completed and in some respects modified Thorah of the Moabite covenant, contained in the codex, Deut. xii.–xxvi. This codex does not however give such an impression of being a document inserted in its original form, as does the Book of the Covenant or even the Law of Holiness. For Deuteronomy is in like manner as St. John's Gospel entirely a work of one cast. Its historical connecting links, conclusions, transitions and narratives have all the same colouring as the discourses; and this oneness of tone is true also, though in perceptibly slighter force, of the Deuterosis of the Law contained in chs. xii.–xxvi. Here too the mount of legislation is called חֹרֵב, xviii. 16; the day of legislation, יום הקהל, xviii. 16; the land of promise, ארץ זבת חלב ודבש, xxvi. 9, 15; the people of God, עם סגלה, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18 (comp. vii. 6); the taking in possession, לְרִשְׁתָּהּ, xii. 1, xv. 4, xix. 2, xxi. 1, xxiii. 21, xxv. 19.[1] The codex moreover nowhere stands in actual contradiction with the prologues; for in iv. 41 it is the setting apart of the three trans-Jordanic, and in xix. of the three cis-Jordanic cities of refuge and their eventual increase that is spoken of. Nor are references to the Book of the Covenant, which forms the basis of the legal codex, wanting in the prologues, *e.g.* vii. 22; comp. Ex. xxiii. 29 sq., where the contradiction to ix. 3 is obviated by the consideration that לא תוכל has the meaning usual in Deuteronomy of moral impossibility (thou canst not = shall or must not).

Thus not only the Mosaic discourses, but also the Mosaic laws are throughout pervaded by the subjectivity of the

[1] Comp. also ארץ מפני, xx. 3, with vii. 21, xxi. 6; הָאֵל (for האלה), xix. 11, as in iv. 42, vii. 22, and הַפְּדֵרָה, xiii. 6, and xiii. 11, xx. 1 (= Ps. lxxxi. 11), as in viii. 14, 15, 16.

Deuteronomian. In the historical orations he gives a sketch of traditional occurrences, and this, in his consciousness of unanimity with Moses, he enlarges and further developes from the standpoint of the condition and frame of mind of the speaker. In the codified law he renovates the traditional legislation of the fortieth year as the moral and religious needs of his time required. Not a few laws, which were without an object in the later times of the kings, the times of the Deuteronomian, afford a proof that Deuteronomy contains actual testamentary injunctions of Moses. This applies to xx. 15–18, for in the later times of the kings there was no longer war with the old Canaanite races; to xxv. 17 sqq., for then the decree of extirpation against Amalek was already executed; to xxiii. 8 sq., for the exhortation to a grateful demeanour towards Edomites and Egyptians is opposed to the subsequent change of relations between both these nations and Israel; to ch. xii., for that the slaughter of animals for domestic use might take place anywhere in the country, was self-evident in post-Mosaic times and needed no concession; to xvii. 15, for the prohibition to make a foreigner king is comprehensible in the mouth of Moses, but without motive or object in so late an age as Josiah's, and generally during the period of the undivided and divided kingdoms; to xviii. 21 sq., for the criterion of the true prophet here laid down could no longer suffice in the seventh century. And why should not this legislation be in its root and stem Mosaic, since it must be admitted beforehand that Moses would before his death once more impress the law of God upon the heart of the people, and give a further exposition of the will of God with reference to their dwelling in the promised land! If the Book of the Covenant is genuinely Mosaic, then Mosaic foundations must be assumed for Deuteronomy; for the legislation of the fortieth year is the Mosaic Deuterosis of the Book of the Covenant, but Deuteronomy in its present form, as the work of the Deuteronomian, is a post-Mosaic Deuterosis of this Deuterosis.

All the laws of the Sinaitic legislation codified in the Book of the Covenant are repeated and emended in Deuteronomy; the penal enactments concerning injuries to limbs or property, Ex. xxi. 18–xxii. 14; the warning against lightly speaking against rulers, Ex. xxii. 27; and the prohibition of even uttering the names of idols, Ex. xxiii. 13 (comp. Ps. xvi. 4), alone excepted. All other fundamental laws are at least brought to remembrance, and in some cases also remodelled. Instances of such remodelling are Deut. xv. 12, comp. Ex. xxi. 2, according to which the Hebrew bond-maid is to go out free in the seventh year, as well as the Hebrew bond-man; and xxiv. 7, comp. Ex. xxi. 16, by which man-stealing is to be punished with death only in case he who is stolen and sold as a slave is a fellow-countryman. The actually most important modification relates to worship. In Ex. xx. 24 sqq. the erection of a place of sacrifice is not restricted to one locality, in opposition to which Deuteronomy, in ch. xii. and throughout, has in view a central sanctuary, which God will choose out of all the tribes as the exclusive place of sacrifice. But the discrepancy between Deuteronomy and the Book of the Covenant is in this matter also only a relative one. The process which regulated the origin of the Thorah being both human and divine, it is quite comprehensible that the first saying concerning the place of sacrifice should be rudimentary, sketchy, vague, and should, in the further course of legislation, be outdone and modified. This is however already done in the Book of the Covenant itself, for the law there given of the three great pilgrimage festivals, Ex. xxiii. 14–18, assumes the future establishment of a central sanctuary. Still a central place of worship and an exclusive place of worship are not as yet one and the same, and it was the legislation of the fortieth year which, in view of the approaching occupation of the promised land, took this further step and limited the worship of God by sacrifices and other offerings exclusively to the one sanctuary. The history too of Israel runs on with a tendency to this end. Even the period of the Judges shows

in the tabernacle at Shiloh at least an attempt at the institution of a central sanctuary. David and Solomon built the splendid stone temple at Jerusalem. Nevertheless the Bamoth (local places of worship) were never entirely and permanently done away with in pre-exilian times. Deuteronomy, as we have it, reproduces the testamentary Thorah of Moses with the evident purpose of giving support to that effort for centralization which aimed at the abolition of local worship, but the exertions of Hezekiah (Isa. xxxvi. 7) and the still greater ones of Josiah had only a temporary success. Besides, the *jus reformandi* of these kings extended only to Judah. For scarcely had David and Solomon built a central place of worship, than the disruption of the kingdom occurred to thwart the recent unity of worship. The prophets and psalmists of Judah know but one holy city, and one sanctuary, the temple on Zion. But the prophets of the northern kingdom must have esteemed as permissible, on Ephraimite soil also, the worship of Jehovah by sacrifice (see 1 Kings xix. 10 ; Hos. ix. 4), for the disruption of the kingdom was an authorized, providential fact, and hence the condition of the kingdom of Israel a God-decreed exceptional condition.

What however was the case with the tabernacle, that anticipation of a central place of worship? The people needing during the forty years a central sanctuary as well as single direction in general, the tabernacle is no anachronism. Graf, however, in his article, *de templo Silonensi*, 1855, began his critical investigation of the Pentateuch with the assertion, that the Mosaic tabernacle was a copy of the temple of Solomon diminished to a portable tent. Now all who side with him have this in common, that they refuse all value to the historical element, which in the Priest-codex forms the frame and basis of the legislation. And in fact this depreciation of the historical element is the result of relegating the narrator to post-exilian times, for it is inconceivable that so vigorous and fruitful a source of genuine traditions from the Mosaic age should at so late a

date be still extant. We nevertheless firmly maintain (1) that the preceding history of Israel, from the Elohistic account of the creation to the history of Joseph, was written in ancient pre-exilian times. For it must be assumed that legends and reminiscences of these matters were extant, while it may be concluded from the pre-exilian literature that they had on the whole the form in which they appear in Genesis; (2) that the historico-legislative element, as well in *PC* as in *JE* and *D*, was not independently invented for the sake of foisting a Mosaic origin upon the legislation, but derived from tradition, which in many points, as *e.g.* in respect of the tabernacle (whether oracle or place of worship), did not everywhere furnish the same views and statements; and (3) that the foundation of the legislation codified by an Elohistic pen was already laid at the time when Deuteronomy originated. For (1) Deuteronomy points back, xxiv. 8, to the law of leprosy, which is found, Lev. xiii.–xiv., as a component part of the Priest-codex. (2) The law as to what animals might be eaten and what were forbidden, Deut. xiv. 3–20, is a passage adopted from the Elohistic legislation, Lev. xi.; the reproduction breaking off, Deut. xiv. 19 sq., where Lev. xi. 21–23 continues. (3) The setting apart of three cities of refuge east of the Jordan, Deut. iv. 41 sqq., is the fulfilment of the Elohistic law, Num. xxxv.; and the injunction, Deut. xix. 1–13, is a repetition and completion of this law. (4) What is said, Deut. xviii. 2, of the priestly race is a retrospect of Num. xviii. 20, 23 sq.; and (5) wherever else Deuteronomy is content to give a general outline of an injunction, it presupposes the existence of more special appointments. (*a*) When it gives the name חג הסכות, xvi. 31, 10, to the feast at the close of harvest, which in the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxiii. 16) and in the law of the second tables (Ex. xxxiv. 22) is called חג האסיף, it alludes to the historical reference in the Law of Holiness, Lev. xxiii. 42 sq., of which this more recent name is the expression. (*b*) When it is forbidden, xvii. 1, to sacrifice an animal which has any blemish, there was required for the

layman, and still more for the priest, information (by no means completely given xv. 21) as to what was and what was not to be regarded as a blemish (מוּם) involving incapability for sacrifice, and the rules respecting this being given in the Law of Holiness, Lev. xxii. 20–25, are therefore essentially pre-Deuteronomian. (*c*) Also when it is forbidden, xxiii. 1, to take a father's wife, it is not intended to limit the crime of incest to this one case, but the lawgiver has in view, beside this one chief case, the other nearly resembling criminal acts mentioned Lev. xviii. 7 sqq., as shown by the anathemas, xxvii. 20, 22, 23.

These references of Deuteronomy to the Elohistic element in the Priest-codex suffice to show, that together with the Mosaic type of legal phraseology and the Jehovistico-Deuteronomic mode of statement formed upon it, the Elohistic type already existed in the pre-Deuteronomic period. The difference of time does not suffice to explain the diversity of these types. They must, equally with the Asaphite and Korahite psalmody, be referred to authorities at once creative and dominant; the Jehovistico-Deuteronomic type is of Mosaic origin, the Elohistic originated with some eminent priest, after whose example this legal and historical phraseology was further developed within the priestly order, just as the prophetico-historical style was within the schools of the prophets. The *PC* is the product of a successive development and formation, which, even supposing it to reach down to post-exilian times, has still its roots in the Mosaic period.

Very erroneously have certain linguistic characteristics been urged in favour of the contemporaneousness and high antiquity of the component parts of the Pentateuch. הִיא occurs only eleven times in the Pentateuch (never in Deuteronomy), הוּא 195 times (thirty-six times in Deuteronomy). This feminine הוּא, which is by means of the final redaction inseparably impressed upon the Pentateuch in all its component parts, is, on the assumption that distinction of gender was not consistently carried out in the ancient language, an archaism.

This assumption is questionable;[1] while, on the other hand, נער, which occurs twenty-one times in the sense of girl, is a veritable archaism; Deuteronomy even has frequently נער בתולה, and only once, xxiii. 19, נערה. יָדֵעַן, Deut. viii. 3, 16, is no archaism, and cannot pass for one (comp. צָקֹהּ, Isa. xxvi. 16); the ן is an appendage conforming the perfect to the imperfect as in Syriac, and here and there in current Arabic; the Arabic, ancient Ethiopic and Aramean show that קטלו without ן was the primitive form. אֵל too (with the article הָאֵל), Gen. xix. 8, 25, xxvi. 3, 4, Lev. xviii. 27, Deut. iv. 42, vii. 22, xix. 11, is no mark of an ancient period of the language, for the Arabic اولى, Æthiopic *ellû*, Aramean אִלֵּין, אִלֵּךְ (with a strengthening *n* and *k*), show that this pronoun as the expression of the plural had originally a vowel termination. No more is את, which is twice, viz. Num. xi. 15, Deut. v. 27 (as also Ezek. xxviii. 14), pointed אֵתְּ as masculine. And granting that יֶרַח exclusively occurring in the Pentateuch is, as compared with יְרִיחוֹ, the older form of the name, yet this admission cannot be utilized for critical purposes; for in the Hagiographa also (Ezra, Neh. Chron.) this town is always called יֶרַח, in opposition to which in the Nebiim (from Joshua onwards) always יְרִיחוֹ (except 2 Kings xxv. 5). So that in this case also the uniformity has to be set to the account of the final redaction. Nor can אֲנִי and אֲנֹכִי be so critically handled as by Giesebrecht; for אני is in agreement with the Arabic انا, the Ethiopic *ana*, the Aramean אֲנָא; the older form (with analogically influenced transition of *â* into *î*), אֲנֹכִי (from *ana* + *ki* with *â* obscured to *ô*), has a secondary relation something like that of ἔγωγε to ἐγώ.

In speaking of Deuteronomy we have not yet given an opinion concerning the ויכתב משה, xxxi. 22, as applied to the שירה, Deut. xxxii. We now do so by taking a view of the poetry of the Mosaic age in general. We have already spoken of the Amorite song of victory, Num. xxi. 27–30, and also of the highly

[1] See No. viii. of my "Pentateuch-kritischen Studien," in Luthardt's *Zeitsch.* for 1880.

poetical quotation from the Books of Wars, Num. xxi. 14 sq. The former is not Israelite, while as to the Book of the Wars, its title and the fragment of three lines given as an extract, will only allow of very uncertain conjectures. There is however nothing against the supposition, that the foundation of this Israelite Iliad was laid at the time of the Exodus. It is possible, for a history of such poetic tone and form as the Exodus must of necessity bear poetic fruit. The people of Jahveh came indeed from that land which was intellectually the most productive of all lands, bringing with them writing materials and castanettes for dancing. One of the lays which the occurrences of the wanderings brought forth is the song of the well, Num. xxi. :—

17 Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it:
18 To the well, which princes digged,
Which the nobles of the people delved,
With the sceptre, and with their staves.

It is there given in explanation of the name of the trans-Jordanic station Beër.

That Moses was himself a poet is understood when we contemplate his life, a life so ideally fashioned by God Himself. The poetry of thought and feeling, which wings and animates the language in the words of the Book of the Covenant, as in Ex. xx. 4, xxii. 25 sq., culminates in two original Mosaic formula, as we believe them to be. One is the harmoniously rising triad of the priestly blessing, Num. vi. :—

The Lord bless thee and keep thee!
The Lord make His face to shine upon thee, and be gracious to thee!
The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace!!!

In the original the first clause consists of three, the second of five, the third of seven words, and the seventh and last word is שָׁלוֹם, seven being the number of satisfaction and peace. The other formula is the two sentences at the setting out and at the resting of the ark of the covenant :—

35 Rise up, O Lord, and let Thine enemies be scattered;
And let them that hate Thee flee before Thy face!
36 Return, O Lord, to the myriads of the thousands of Israel.

The introduction, Ex. xv. 1, does not require Moses to have been the author of the song of praise at the Red Sea; the carrying out of the theme, 1*b*–3, may not have received its present form till the arrival in Canaan (see ver. 13), but must have done so in pre-Davidic times, as the echoes in Ps. xxiv. 8, lxxviii. 13, 54, lxxxix. 7, demand, or at least make probable. It is here, ver. 18, that the theocratic relation first finds expression, here that we find for the first time (ver. 2) the Divine name יָהּ, which returns, Ex. xvii. 16, in the very poetically expressed saying of Moses concerning Amalek: A hand (is lifted up) upon the throne of Jah (to be explained by Deut. xxxii. 4 sq.); Jahveh hath war with Amalek from generation to generation (*i.e.* from the most distant generation onwards; compare in the similarly expressed Divine saying, Ex. iii. 15, לְדֹר דֹּר, in generation, generation—*i.e.* to the latest generation).

We must bring before us these poetical pieces, for the purpose of not too lightly denying the testimony in Deut. xxxi. that the song הַאֲזִינוּ, Deut. xxxii., was written by Moses. Although only this one thing is certain, that the signal words, Num. x. 35 sq., were the product of the lofty and powerful mind of Moses, he may also have been the author of this song, which, as I have elsewhere shown, contains nothing which may not be conceived as the production of the natural gift of insight of a deeply religious and patriotic poet. It is a picture, from a supernaturalistic, theocratic standpoint, of the inwardly necessary concatenation existing between the vicissitudes of Israel's history,—a picture thoroughly original, containing nothing that gives an impression of being obtained from elsewhere, and probably one of the models of the Deuteronomian employed by him as sources when reproducing the testamentary discourses of Moses.

Equally original is the blessing of Moses, ch. xxxiii., appended to Deuteronomy. Setting aside ver. 4, which is a more recent interpolation, this pendant to the blessing of Jacob has throughout the Mosaic period as its historical basis.

It coincides with the great song in the national name יְשֻׁרוּן, and in רִבְבוֹת אֶפְרַיִם and אַלְפֵי מְנַשֶּׁה with the signal words. But it does not, like the great song, form an original portion of Deuteronomy, but was admitted into it by the redactor, who incorporated Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch, *i.e.* the collective work on the period of legislation and its previous history. Till then the blessing of Moses would have been disseminated as a separate composition, like Ps. xc., whose title is similar in form, and whose commencement sounds like a development of the three words מְעוֹנָה אֱלֹהֵי קֶדֶם, xxxiii. 27. The physiognomy of Ps. xc. is like that of the blessing undeniably Mosaic, although this is still no irresistible proof of the authorship of Moses. For as the Deuteronomian imitated the Mosaic type in orations, he might also have imitated it in poetry. The fact that the fourth book of Psalms begins with this Ps. xc., speaks more for its being written according to the mind of Moses than for its being his own composition. The title is fully justified even in the former case. They who judge otherwise are unacquainted with the spirit and custom of ancient, and especially of Biblical, history and poetry, which esteem it one of their tasks to appropriate completely the thoughts and phraseology of great men, and by thinking their thoughts and experiencing their feelings, to make themselves their organs. There are however no internal grounds for compelling us to deny the Mosaic authorship of Ps. xc. It corresponds with the condition and frame of mind of Moses in the fortieth year, and the echoes of the original Mosaic diction of the Pentateuch resounding in it increase the impression of its authenticity.

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There was a time when the horizon of Pentateuch criticism was bounded by Genesis and the beginning of Exodus. We now know that the mode of composition found in Genesis continues to the 34th chapter of Deuteronomy. It extends moreover beyond Deut. xxxiv., and continues in the book of Joshua. Hence, both on this account and because

the exodus and the occupation of Canaan together form a whole, viz. the history of the deliverance of Israel and of its becoming an independent nation, we are justified in comprising the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua as a hexateuch. And this hexateuch also is only a component part of the great historical work in five parts (viz. Moses, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings), extending from Gen. i. to 2 Kings xxv., of which the Pentateuch forms one. The connection of the Pentateuch and Joshua is however a closer one than that of Joshua and Judges, for the book of Judges only borrows twice from Joshua, and gives extracts only four times from the same sources, while the book of Joshua is composed in entirely the same manner as the Pentateuch. In Judges are found a few scattered fragments from *JE* (i. 10–15, 20, xxi. 27 sq., 29). In the book of Joshua, from the beginning to the end, the three chief modes of statement—the Jehovistic, the Deuteronomic, and the Elohistic—may be distinguished one from the other.

The history of the conquest, chs. i.–xii., is Jehovistico-Deuteronomic; we meet with but few traces of the mode of statement of the Priest-codex (*Q*, iv. 19, ix. 15*b*, 17–21, *LH* v. 10–12). On the other hand, the part relating the history of the division of the land, xiii.–xxi., together with xxii., is written in the style of *Q*, but only as far as the main bulk is concerned, for we there meet also with the Jehovistic mode of delineation, *e.g.* xviii. 3–10, which is a Jehovistic as xiv. 1–5 is an Elohistic prologue to the business of division. An impression of the diversity of the two styles may be obtained by comparing xviii. 7 with Num. xxxiv. 14, of which it is, so to speak, the Jehovistic translation. Peculiar to the Elohistic style are the use of מטה for שבט (Deuteronomy also has always שבטים and not מטות); the designation of the trans-Jordanic land by מעבר לירדן יְרֵחוֹ for מעבר־לירדן; the statement of direction קֵדְמָה for מזרחה, and as a favourite expression בית אבות, or shorter only אבות,—all these peculiarities are got rid of, xviii. 7. More difficult is it to distinguish the Jehovistic from the Deuteronomic style.

There are Jehovistic passages which keep throughout within the limits of the Jehovistic mode of statement, *e.g.* xiv. 6 sqq. (the endowment of Caleb). Elsewhere however the two nearly related modes encroach upon each other, yet not so much that we should fail in tracing them to two different hands.

The relation of the book of Joshua to Deuteronomy is similar to that of the book of Nehemiah to the book of Ezra, the one is planned after the model of the other. The book of Joshua begins ch. i. (the summons to Joshua and the engagement on the part of the people) in Deuteronomic style, and maintaining it throughout terminates in the same fashion in ch. xxiii. (Joshua's farewell discourse to the representatives of Israel). The section, viii. 30 sqq., beginning with אז יבנה, is just such an intermediate portion as that in Deut. iv. 41–43 beginning with אז יבדיל. The account of the ʿÊd-Altar, ch. xxii., which excludes separate places of worship beside the central sanctuary, is indeed as well as ch. ix. (the successful stratagem of the Gibeonites) of a mingled mosaic-like kind, but in tone Deuteronomic. And finally the book of Joshua runs parallel with Deuteronomy in the circumstance, that as Moses left behind him a testamentary book of the law to be preserved beside the ark of the covenant, so did Joshua, according to xxiv. 25, set before the people in Shechem "a statute and an ordinance (the same expression as that used at the beginning of the legislation at Marah, Ex. xv. 25), and wrote these words in the book of the law of God." The expression ספר תורת אלהים occurs only here; for ספר תורת האלהים, Neh. vii. 8, 18, is not quite the same. It sounds as if that Elohistic and directly Mosaic Thorah were intended, which, together with the Book of the Covenant, is presupposed in the Deuteronomic code of laws as the lowest and most ancient stratum of the priest codex.

That the literary activity of the Elohistic pen reaches back to ancient times nearly approaching those of Moses is also confirmed by the book of Joshua. Modern criticism indeed

greatly depreciates the historical authority of the priestly narrator in matters relating to the history of the conquest; but the priestly narrator wrote also the main bulk of the account of the division, and this may lay claim to documentary authority. For that this history of the division is based upon written documents may be conjectured from its very nature, while the ספר of the commissioners entrusted with the task of describing the land, xviii. 19, shows that the division of the land was carried out with legal accuracy. Now as there were never during the course of Israelite history boundary disputes between the tribes (for the migration of the tribe of Dan, Judg. i. 34, was caused by the pressure of the Amorites), it may be inferred that the records of the division of the land transferred to the book of Joshua had the respect and gave the sanction of a public document reaching back to well-known authorities. It is therefore quite an arbitrary assertion, at least with respect to the history of the division, that the priestly narrator of the book of Joshua was of more recent times than the Jehovist and the Deuteronomian, and it is certainly possible that the Deuteronomian himself composed and formed the book of Joshua from Jehovistic and Elohistic models. But we may here leave the origin of the book of Joshua undecided. Two observations only are of importance with respect to Genesis, which is the goal and centre of all these preliminary investigations: (1) that the book of Joshua also exhibits a similar structure with Genesis, though with an unequal mingling of the component parts (especially of the Deuteronomic, which occurs but rarely in Genesis); and (2) the circumstance, deserving a further discussion, that it was the last redactor of the entire history from Gen. i. to 2 Kings xxv. who incorporated into it the book of Joshua.

It is mistakenly urged against regarding the book of Joshua as a sixth and integral part with the five books of Moses, that if this had been the case the author would not again have narrated the conquest of the country on the east

of Jordan under Moses, and its division by him among the two and a half tribes, nor the appointment by Moses of the three cities of refuge in that land. For (1) the installation of the two and a half tribes in their inheritance, xiii. 15–33, is not a mere repetition, but a recapitulatory and completed retrospect of Num. xxxii. 33 sqq.; comp. xxxi. sq., and Deut. iii. 13–15; and (2) the establishment of the six cities of refuge, ch. xx., is the fulfilment of the injunction, Num. xxxv. 9–29; that of the three east of Jordan being but recapitulated according to Deut. iv. 41–43. The final redaction however certainly dissolved the hexateuchal relation of the book of Joshua to the five books of Moses, and placed these by themselves as the Thorah. For הִוא occurs no more in the book of Joshua;[1] and the city of palm trees is not here called יְרֵחו as in the Pentateuch, but as everywhere in the *Prophetæ priores*, with the exception of a single passage, יריחו. The final redaction has thereby emphasized the assumption, that the Pentateuch is a completed whole to the exclusion of all that follows, is the fundamental book of the canon, and that the book of Joshua belongs as a separate book to a more advanced period.

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Thorah and Pentateuch are not identical ideas, and it was not till post-exilian times that their identification was arrived at. This is a fact of supreme importance. Its consideration is of

[1] Of the three extra-Pentateuchal passages, in which the received Masoretic text recognises הוא with the Keri היא (1 Kings xvii. 15; Isa. xxx. 33; Job xxxi. 11), none is of the same kind as the double gendered Pentateuchal הִוא; but what is said, p. 394 sq., of No. viii. of my *Pentateuch-kritischen Studien über den Text des Cod. Babyl. vom J.* 916, needs the correction given in Buhl's *Gammeltestamentlige Skriftverlevering* (1887), p. 179: this text, according to the recension of the מרנחאי (Orientals), has in many passages הוא with a Khirik written over it, in which הוא can neither be meant to be neuter nor referred to a noun, which in any case may also be masculine, *e.g.* Jer. xxviii. 17, בשנה ההוא; Ezek. xiv. 17, הארץ ההוא; xviii. 20 (the sinning soul), הוא תמות (see Baer's *Ezekiel*, p. 108)—an evident proof that the separation of the five books of Moses from the book of Joshua by certain characteristics esteemed archaic, such as הוא and יְרֵחוֹ (for יְרִיחוֹ), comes down from a time in which the Pentateuch as תורה was disconnected from the entire history reaching from Genesis to 2 Kings, and that the process from which the Old Testament text in its present Palestino-Masoretic final form resulted, first came to an end in Christian times.

itself well adapted to raise us above scruples of conscience with respect to the criticism of the Pentateuch, and to deliver us from all sorts of inveterate prejudices. Their identification is not more ancient than the construction of the Old Testament canon, with which the final redaction of the entire historical work reaching from Gen. i. to 2 Kings xxv. is connected.

When the book of Joshua originated, the priestly historical book from the creation of the world to the death of Moses, with the extracts from *JE* which had entered into it, was already enlarged by the insertion of Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch, with which the book of Joshua was combined as a sixth. To this Hexateuch were added as its successive continuations Judges, Samuel, and Kings, as we at present have them. All the three books have a different form from that which they had in their separate state. The book of Judges is fastened on to the book of Joshua by ii. 6–10 (= Josh. xxiv. 28–31: the close of Joshua's life). It originally contained also the history of Eli and Samuel, at least down to the victory over the Philistines at Ebenezer (as certainly appears from Judg. xiii. 5, הוא יָחֵל להושיע); this concluding portion is now detached from it and made the introduction to the history of the kings. In LXX. Samuel and Kings are, in conformity with their subjects, entitled: *Βασιλειῶν πρώτη, δευτέρα, τρίτη, τετάρτη.* For 1 Kings i. does not begin like a commencement, but like a continuation of the history of the kings; the notion of a ספר המלכים involving a similar treatment of the history of David and Solomon. Some author, under the influence of Deuteronomy, which became after Joshua a spiritual power, worked up Judges, Samuel, and Kings, as we have them, into each other and linked them to the Hexateuch.

This final Deuteronomic redaction of the collective historical work undoubtedly stands in connection with the construction of the Canon, but the redactor or redactors of the Canon are more recent than this Deuteronomist; the construction of the Canon being prepared for by the condensation of similar

writings into one whole (see Dan. ix. 2; 2 Macc. ii. 13 f.). We do not know when and how the Canon was brought into the state of an entire body of writings in three parts, we only know that this was already accomplished in the times of the son of Sirach (about 200 years before Christ); for the prologue which the grandson of Ben-Sirach prefixed to his Greek translation, composed in Egypt, of his grandfather's book of proverbs, testifies that in the latter's lifetime the holy writings as a whole were divided into *νόμος, προφῆται* and *ἄλλα πάτρια βιβλία* (*i.e.* כתובים).

It was not till the five books of Moses were severed from Joshua and the latter thrown among the נביאים that the Pentateuch, upon which the tone of its language also impressed the mark of priority, obtained the name of the Thorah. התורה is not in itself an apt name for a historical book and its object and form; and it is only *per synecdochen partis pro toto* that the Pentateuch can be so called. Wherever the Thorah is quoted in any Old Testament book, it is always with reference to Divine legal (2 Chron. xxv. 4; Neh. xiii. 1–3) or ritual enactments (Ezra iii. 2; Neh. viii. 14), including the curses and blessings, promises and threats, by which the law is fenced round (Josh. viii. 34; 2 Kings xxii. 12). התורה is everywhere instruction concerning the will of God in either a legislative or hortatory form; the idea is a wider one than *νόμος*, though narrowed in the plural, תורות everywhere meaning legal precepts, Ezek. xliv. 24; Ps. cv. 45; Dan. ix. 10; Neh. ix. 13 (comp. דָּתֵי, Ezra vii. 25), and Isa. xxiv. 5. The book of the Thorah, which, according to Josh. i. 7 sq., was not to depart out of Joshua's mouth, is the law codex of the law, not the Pentateuch; and when Malachi says, iii. 22: "Remember the Thorah of Moses, my servant," it is the law of Moses and not the Pentateuch that is intended. It is even uncertain, as we incidentally remarked above, whether the ספר תורת משה, which Ezra read publicly on the 1st Tishri of the year 444 (Neh. viii.), was the Priest-codex or the Pentateuch as we have it as an historical work. The former is the

more probable. It was not till after the canon was fixed as a whole collection of writings, in three parts, that the name התורה coincided with that of the Pentateuch. The materials of which it is formed were old: traditional primæval histories, a traditional history of legislation, and traditional though not throughout ancient Mosaic laws. Assuming even that a share in the formation of this collective work must be accorded to Ezra, still the process of formation was also carried farther on after him. The texts of the Samaritan and of the Greek Pentateuch show that the form of the text at the time when these translations were made was in many places unsettled. This is seen especially in the section concerning the completion of the sanctuaries, Ex. xxxv. sqq., which betrays a more recent hand than the section containing the directions concerning their formation, and is in the LXX. from the hand of a different translator, and displays many variations.

The perception that the Pentateuch contains the Thorah, but is not identical with it, and that it subsequently received this name as though it were so, exercises a liberative effect. For, if this is the case, it is self-evident that the book of the Thorah, which according to Deut. xxxi. was written by Moses, can have been neither the Pentateuch nor Deuteronomy in its present historical form. Hence we need entertain the less scruple in holding that the Pentateuch, like the other historical books of the Bible, is composed from documentary sources of various dates and different kinds, which critical analysis is able to recognise and distinguish from each other with more or less certainty.

If inspiration is the mental influence which contributed to the formation of an authentic record of the history of redemption, such inspiration holds good not of the several documents of the Pentateuch, but of that extant whole into which these writings, which, considered in themselves, might perhaps have been incomplete, one-sided, and insufficient, were worked up. The Christian as such regards the Pentateuchal historical

work and the Holy Scriptures in general as a unity, the product of One spirit, having one meaning and one object. And this unity really exists in everything which concerns our redemption and the history of its preparation and foundation. and is exalted far above the discoveries of critical analysis. Criticism seems indeed, by breaking up the single into its original and non-affinitive elements, to threaten and question this essential unity of Holy Scripture. Hence it must always remain unpopular; a congregation has no interest in it, but on the contrary takes offence at it. And indeed there is a kind of criticism which, while dismembering the Pentateuch like a *corpus vile* with its dissecting knife, finds such pleasure in its ruthless hunt for discrepancies as to thoroughly disgust not only the Christian layman, but also the Christian scholar with analysis. Still the just claims of analysis are indisputable, hence it is scientifically necessary. It is an indispensable requirement of the history of literature, which it supplies with copious material, and of historical criticism, to which it furnishes the foundation of the various traditions and authorities.—In the department of Holy Scripture it is, however, a dangerous matter exposed to that arbitrariness, ill-will, and want of moderation, which thinks to see through everything and crushes everything to atoms. And yet believing investigation of Scripture will not subdue this nuisance of critical analysis, unless it wrests the weapon from its adversary's hand, and actually shows that analysis can be exercised without thereby trampling under foot respect for Holy Scripture. Of such a process however scarcely a beginning has been made.

It is true that the present destructive proceedings in the department of Old Testament criticism, which demand the construction of a new edifice, is quite fitted to confuse consciences and to entangle a weak faith in all kinds of temptation. If however we keep fast hold in this labyrinth of the one truth, *Christus vere resurrexit*, we have in our hands Ariadne's thread to lead us out of it.

God is the God of truth, אלהים אמת! The love of truth,

submission to the force of truth, the surrender of traditional views which will not stand the test of truth, is a sacred duty, an element of the fear of God. Will ye be partisans for God? (הפני תשאון), exclaims Job (xiii. 8), reproving his friends, who were assuming the part of advocates for God towards him, while misrepresenting the facts of the case *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. This great saying of Job, admired also by Kant the philosopher, has always made a deep impression upon me. Ever since I began to officiate as an academical tutor in 1842, I have taken up the standpoint of inquiry, freely surrendering itself to the leadings of truth. I have not been in sympathy with the Hengstenberg tendency, because it allowed the weight of its adversaries' reasons to have too little influence upon it.

But in my view a correlative obligation is, combined with freedom, an obligation which is not so much its limitation as its foundation. I esteem the great fundamental facts of redemption as exalted far above the vicissitudes of scientific views and discoveries.—The certainty and security of these facts have no need to wait for the results of advancing science; they are credibly testified, and are sealed to every Christian as such by inward experience and by continual perception of their truth in himself and others. And to this obligation of faith is added an obligation of reverence, and, so to speak, of Christian decorum. For faith in these facts of salvation naturally involves a reverent relation to Holy Scripture, which is to the Christian a Holy thing, because it is the record of the works and words of God, the frame and image of the promised and manifested Redeemer. Certainly Holy Scripture is not a book which has fallen from heaven,—on the contrary, the self-testimony therein given to the Divine is affected by all the marks of human, individual, local, temporal and educational diversity. But to the end of time the Church renovated by the Reformation will confess that, *Primum toto pectore Prophetica et Apostolica scripta Veteris et Novi Testamenti ut limpidissimos purissimosque Israelis fontes*

recipimus et amplectimur. And they who thus confess with her will not make a boast of uttering depreciating, insolent, and contemptuous criticisms concerning the writers of the Bible. Their attitude towards Holy Scripture will be free but not free-thinking, free but not frivolous. And this will be especially the case with respect to Genesis,—that fundamental book in the Book of books. For there is no book in the Old Testament which is of such fundamental importance for all true religion, and particularly for Christianity, as the religion of redemption, as this first book of the Pentateuchal Thorah, which corresponds with the first book of the *quadriforme Evangelium.*

We do not belong to those moderns who, as the children of their age, are so charmed by the most recent stage of Old Testament science as to see therein the solution of all enigmas, and to disregard with an easy mind all the new enigmas created by such solution. But as little too are we of those ancients who, as the children of an age that has been overtaken, see in the new stage a product of pure wantonness, and are too weak-brained or too mentally idle to take up an independent position with respect to the new problems by surrendering their musty papers. Only in one point do we remain now as ever faithful to the old school. We are Christians, and therefore occupy a position with regard to Holy Scripture quite different from that which we take towards the Homeric poems, the Nibelungen, or the treasures of the library of Asurbanipal. Holy Scripture being the book of the records of our religion, our relation thereto is not merely scientific, but also in the highest degree one of moral responsibility. We will not deny the human element with which it is affected, but will not with Hamitic scorn discover the nakedness of Noah. We will not with Vandalic complacency reduce to ruins that which is sacred. We will not undermine the foundations of Christianity for the sake of playing into the hands of Brahmosamajic, *i.e.* of Brahmanhic or Buddhistic, rationalism. For the notes that are struck in

German lecture-halls and books are at last re-echoed from distant Asia, and make vain the efforts of our missionaries. We will not give up what is untenable without replacing it wherever possible by that which is tenable. We will interpret Genesis as theologians, and indeed as Christian theologians, *i.e.* as believers in Jesus Christ, who is the end of all the ways and words of God.

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There is no people of antiquity that possesses a historical work that can be compared with the book of Genesis. Not even the Egyptians; for supposing they had possessed one, it would have been a mere history of the Egyptians, beginning with a mythological jumble, which cleaves to the soil of Egypt.—But here, before the history of Israel commences in the remote patriarchal era, are related the beginnings of the human race: Godhead and mankind are strictly distinguished; mankind exists before nations, and the nation which this history, commencing as it does from the beginning, has in view, does not deny its later origin. This circumstance already bespeaks our confidence in the history. But our interest in it is not merely historical, but religious. For the essential truth of what is here related and the truth of Christianity stand in closest mutual connection. Its *essential* truth, we say,—for Christianity has no direct relation to such questions as whether Adam lived 930 years or not; whether the descent of one or another nation can be ethnographically or linguistically verified; whether the chronological network of the ante-diluvian and post-diluvian history appears in presence of the Egyptian and Babylonico-Assyrian monuments to need extension; whether many narratives are but duplicates, *i.e.* different legendary forms of one and the same occurrence;—no, Christianity has a height and depth at which it is unaffected by any verdict pronounced upon such matters as these. But if it were true that geology can follow back the age of the earth for myriads, nay, millions, of years (Lyellism), and that man was in the struggle for existence developed from the

animal world (Darwinism), if in the place of the child-like innocence of the first-created pair we have to place the cannibalism of the half-brutal manhood of the stone period, and in that of the Divine re-elevation of the fallen, the gradual upward steps of self-culture during ten thousand years,—then indeed, we admit it without reserve, the Christian view of the world is condemned as from henceforth untenable. For documentary Christianity professes to be the religion of the redemption of Adamic mankind, and has for its inalienable premises the unity of the first creation of man, the fall of the first-created pair, and the curse and promise by which this was succeeded. Hence, were we even to grant that Gen. i.–iii. speaks of the beginnings of human history with the stammering tongue of childhood, it must still be maintained, if Christianity is to maintain its ground as the religion of the recovery of the lost, and as the religion of the consummation aimed at from the beginning, that man, as the creature of God, entered upon existence as at once human and capable of development in good, but fell from this good beginning by failing to stand the test of his freedom. Menken is right when he says: "If the first three chapters of Genesis are taken out of the Bible, it is deprived of the *terminus a quo*; if the last three chapters of the Apocalypse are taken away, it is deprived of the *terminus ad quem*."

Genesis is the most difficult book of the Old Testament. It is esteemed the easiest by reason of its mostly simple diction; but it deals all along with the great historical realities of the world and of redemption, and problem upon problem, through which we have to beat our way, rises in our path. We hope however to get through without making shipwreck of our faith. For the ground on which our faith is anchored is independent of scientific evidences.

The scaffold of Genesis in its present state is formed by the genealogically planned pre-Israelite history, as related by the Elohist (in Dillmann *A*, in Wellhausen *Q*), from ancient sources. We distinguish *E* (in Dillmann *B*) as the older

Elohist from this Elohist κατ' ἐξ., whose work forms the plan of Genesis, and is in this sense the fundamental writing. Hebrew, like all other historical writing, begins with genealogies, תולדות. Hence, down to the Exodus from Egypt, genealogy takes the place of chronology, *i.e.* the reckoning according to this or that era, the historical narratives being as to their foundation genealogical. The history encamps upon the genealogical table of descent, and is quartered upon them. These tables have Jacob-Israel in view, the direct line is that of the chosen race, from which proceeds the chosen people. But the genealogy of the most nearly related collateral lines proceeding from the direct line is also noted,—and indeed in such wise, that the branching off of the collateral lines always precedes the continuation of the main line, for the purpose of giving free space to the latter. The direct or main line begins with the genealogical table from Adam to Noah (ch. v.), reaches its twenty-second member with Jacob, and spreads out into the genealogies of his twelve sons (ch. xlvi.) There are in all ten Toledoth, five belonging to primitive and five to patriarchal history, as we have already stated in our survey of the contents and plan of the Pentateuch. The number ten is not accidental. The Elohist, to whom we undoubtedly owe all these main genealogical tables, deals with significant numbers, which the other writers also use. The Elohist however, more than any other, makes them, as St. Matthew does, ch. i., his 3×14 γενεαί, the framework of his matter. Ten was in ancient times regarded as the number of completeness and the signature of the finished whole.

I.

THE TOLEDOTH OF THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH, I. 1–IV. 26.

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD AS THE FOUNDATION OF ITS HISTORY, I.–II. 4.

THE Thorah, or rather the book of the History of Israel, begins with the Creation; for (1) the history of the world presupposes its formation; the origin of Israel is later than the origins of the nations and of mankind; the theatre of the history of redemption lies within the circumference of heaven and earth. (2) The seal of the Divine nature of the revelation given to Israel is the identity of the God of this revelation with the God who created the world. (3) The creation of the world is also the first beginning of the Thorah, inasmuch as the sanctification of the Sabbath is traced to the order of creation (Ex. xx. 11, comp. xxxi. 17 sq.). From this subsequent self-stated foundation of the Sabbatic command it is also evident that the creation of the world in seven days was regarded as a fact by the religious consciousness of Israel, and was hence no invention of him who conceived this account of the creation.

It is no visionary revelation which he commits to writing, for where would be found in Holy Scripture an example of a revelation of things past in visionary pictures? Even in 1 Cor. xi. 23 the circumstances are quite different. No, the author is reproducing what has been handed down. We meet in his account the same keynote which "resounds from the Ganges to the Nile" (Tuch). The cosmogonic legend is the common property of the most ancient of cultured peoples,

and even beyond the ancient regions of culture strikingly similar notions have been found by those who have set foot among the hitherto unknown nations, of *e.g.* Northern India and interior Africa.

The cosmogonic legend has experienced the most various mythological transformations; we have it here in its simplest and purest form, in which, no human being having been a spectator of the creation (Job xxxviii. 4), it points back to Divine information as its source. It is part of that primitive revelation which resounds throughout all heathendom in reminiscences of every kind. It is God who disclosed to man what we here read. It was impossible for him to know all this from himself, exclusively *lumine naturæ*.

We, who have been acquainted with this narrative of the creation from our youth, only too easily overlook its uniqueness in the world of nations. Its true greatness is not dependent on the confirmation afforded or denied to it by physical science, though the latter is obliged, on the whole, involuntarily to confirm it. An "ideal harmony" (Zöckler), *i.e.* an agreement in fundamental features, actually exists. For it is established, or at least remains uncontradicted, that, setting aside primitive matter, light is — as this account teaches us—the first of substances; that the formation of stars was subsequent to the creation of light; that the creation of plants preceded that of animals; that creatures form an ascending scale, and that man is the close of the creation of land mammalia. The true greatness however of this narrative of creation consists in its proclaiming, at a period of universally prevailing idolatry, the true idea of God, which is to this very day the basis of all genuine piety and culture. This monotheism is specifically Israelite; and the fact that the natural heathen disposition of Israel unceasingly reacted against it, shows that it was no product of nature, but a gift of grace.

They are truths of infinite importance which are expressed in this account of creation, not as dogmas, but as facts which

speak for themselves. These truths are: 1. There is one God who, as the One Elohim, unites in Himself all the Divine which was by the heathen world shattered to pieces and dispersed among their many Elohim. 2. The world is not the necessary and natural emanation of His being, but the free appointment of His will, and brought to pass by His word. 3. The world originated in an ascending gradation of creative acts, and this successive nature of its origin is the foundation of those laws of development according to which its existence continues. 4. The object of creation was man, who is on the one hand the climax of the earthly world, on the other the synthesis of nature and spirit, the image of God Himself, and by His appointment the king of the earthly world. These are the great truths with which we are confronted in the tradition of creation, as we here have it, free from mythological deformity.

If we have in the Scripture narrative a heathen form of that tradition reduced to what the critical fusion of the spirit of revelation insists on, its Phœnician or Babylonian form affords the nearest comparison. Our sources for the Phœnician cosmogony are Philo Byblios in Euseb. *præp. ev.* i. 10, and Mochos and Eudemos in Damascius, *de principiis*, c. 125; for the Babylonian cosmogony, a fragment in Damascius on the origin of the gods, the detailed narrative of the process of the world's origination by Berosus (*Eusebii Chronica*, ed. Schoene, i. col. 11 sqq.), and the clay table inscriptions from the library of Asurbanipal (see F. Delitzsch's German edition of Smith's *Chaldee Genesis*, 1876). It is true, as Dillmann urges, that it is only in the Phœnician legend that *Βάαυ* (בָּהוּ=בָּהוּ) occurs as the name of primitive matter (personified as a female), and there too alone that we meet with the notion of the world-egg (*ὠόν*), that widely disseminated myth, which is found both in the Finnish epos *Kalewâla* (i. 235) and in the Indian *Mahabhârata* (*DMZ.* xxxviii. 229 sq.), and a glimmer of which is seen in the biblical מרחפת. The Babylonian legend however also offers, even in the fragments in which it has been preserved, many still closer points of contact

with the Scripture narrative, and these Lotz (*De historia Sabbati*, 1883, p. 98 sq.) has in my estimation undervalued. Chaos is there called *tiâmat* (= תְּהוֹם), the origin of the world starting from the primal flood instead of from the tohu-wa-bohu. The creation of the heavenly bodies sounds very like the work of the fourth day. Three kinds of animals are distinguished: *bûl* = בהמה, *umâm ṣêri* = חית הארץ, and *nammaššî ṣêri* = רמש האדמה. The twofold *ubaššim* (*û*), "he made (they made) good," is also a parallel to the sevenfold טוב of the Scripture account. To this must be added, that as מרחפת alludes to the world-egg, so does לממשלת היום to King ᵛSamaš; sun and king are written with the same ideogram. And what is the chief matter: the hebdomad of days point to Babylon. For the week of seven days is, as Lotz has shown, a Babylonian institution. There too the seventh day is called *šabattu*, which is explained by *ûmu nûḫ libbi* (day of the heart's rest). After every fourth week one or two days were there inserted, that the beginning of the month might coincide with the beginning of a new week. Israel had from Babylon the week of seven days, but with the abolition of the inserted days, the Israelite computation of the week being no longer combined with that of the month.

If then it really is a fact, that the account of the creation shows notions and expressions which are common both to it and to the Babylonian legend of creation, and if it is besides in other respects established, that there is an historical connection between the Hebrew and Babylonian traditions, the question arises as to the period at which this picture of creation or of single features in it was accepted. Dillmann in his commentary and in his academical essay on the origin of the primitive historical traditions of the Hebrews, 1882, does not admit the premisses to the same extent that we do; but the grounds on which he opposes the assertion ventured upon on the part especially of Assyriology, that this period was that of the captivity, are also ours. 1. This dating from the captivity is frustrated by the fact, that the Babylonian

parallels in the account of Creation as well as of the Deluge extend beyond the Elohistic and into the Jehovistic portion. Now it is universally acknowledged, that the Jehovistic book, or if the expression is preferred, the Jahvistic extracts of the Pentateuch, are pre-Deuteronomic and therefore pre-exilic, and pertaining to the period previous to complication with the Babylonian world-empire. 2. It may indeed be perceived from the book of Ezekiel, that life in the midst of Babylonian surroundings was not without influence upon the ideas and diction of the prophets, but "it is incredible that the exiles should have adopted whole portions from the writings or traditions of their oppressors, and have even placed them in the forefront of the Thorah. The national and religious antagonism was at that time too pronounced to allow of the formation of a mythological syncretism; and it was but slowly, and not till they were in general use under the Persian sovereignty, that the Jews adopted even the Babylonian names of the months." 3. The Babylonian legends in question were already in their ancient cuneiform character, and how much more then were they subsequently, "so overgrown and interspersed with coarsely sensual notions and a polymorphous mythology, that it would have required such eminent religious genius, as was not to be expected from the Jews of the exile and restoration, to reform them to the purity of their original state, and to restore to them the monotheistic simplicity, beauty and truth in which they appear in the Bible."

Moreover it is quite arbitrary to give so recent a date to the contents of the account of Creation, and to regard them as borrowed. That which is common may indeed be derived from a common source. Might not a tradition of the Cosmogony have existed among men before they parted into nations and paganisms? This might take various forms among the several peoples of Semitic speech, according to their national and religious peculiarities, without however denying the common root. The sons of Terah, who subsequently emigrated from Ur of the Chaldees, would have their

own notions of the process of the world's creation, these would be mythological and probably akin to those of their Babylonian abode. The spirit of revelation, who delivered Abraham from the bonds of heathenism, would free these notions from their mythologic deformity and reduce them to the form of majestic simplicity, which belief in the One premundane and supermundane God induces. The essential matters in this account of the creation are among the most ancient foundations of the religion of Israel.

There was a tradition believed in at least as early as the Mosaic period, that God after six days' work sanctified the seventh as a day of rest. We infer this from the circumstance, that the institution of the Sabbath is in the Decalogue of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx. 11) based upon the six days of the week of creation. This testimony may indeed be got rid of by deciding (as *e.g.* Lemme does in his paper on the religious and historical importance of the Decalogue, 1880, p. 8, 123), that Ex. xx. 11 is an insertion in the Decalogue of more recent date. But this does not follow from Deut. v. 15. For here it is not, as in Ex. xx. 11, the institution of the Sabbath (compare xxxi. 17, probably from *LH*), but the duty of observing it, which is founded on the favourite Deuteronomic motive, the ten words being freely recapitulated in the flow of hortatory discourse.

Another testimony is Ps. viii., of which Hitzig says: "This psalm has on no side the appearance of a recent one. In expression, in perfection of construction, and in genuine poetic value it is thoroughly worthy of David, and forms the correlate of the assuredly Davidic Ps. xix." Well then this Ps. viii. is a lyric echo of the tradition committed to writing in the Elohistic account of the creation; especially in the fact, that here just as in Gen. i. the position of man as supreme over the earthly world is regarded as flowing directly from his being made in the image of God.

When the ancient traditionary material received the written setting found in Gen. i.–ii. 4 is another question. We do not

ignore that certain linguistic indications seem to require a recent date. We do not reckon ברא among them, for though בורא (בוראים) becomes more frequent as an appellation of God in Old Testament literature the farther down we come, yet ברא as denoting Divine creation is guaranteed to us as pre-exilian by ברא אלהים, Deut. iv. 32, and ברא יהוה, Isa. iv. 5. Nor רקיע, for the antiquity of the name for the firmament of heaven is defended by Ps. xix. 2. Nor חַיָּתוֹ (i. 24), which occurs ten times in the O. T., for Zeph. ii. 14 shows that pre-exilian literature also was not averse to the use of this archaism. Nor רדה (i. 26, 28), for it is found also in Ps. lxxii. 8, against whose Solomonian composition nothing valid can be objected. Nor even מין, though it is certainly striking that this word, so frequently used by the Elohist, only occurs elsewhere once in Ezek. xlvii. 10, and several times in the reproduction of the laws on food, Deut. xiv. 13–18; for we do not regard the law of clean and unclean animals with the classifying למינו, למינהו, למינה, there reproduced in Deuteronomy as the insertion of a more recent redactor, but as an ancient pre-Deuteronomic element of the Elohistic Thorah. There is therefore no reason why מין, *species*, should not be a word belonging to the most ancient Hebrew.

On the other hand, it is striking that the Elohistic word נקבה (especially in the formula זכר ונקבה, i. 27, or זכר או נקבה) is only found, besides Deut. iv. 16, in the enigmatic saying, Jer. xxxi. 22. It must however be nevertheless assumed that the word is pre-Deuteronomic, for there is no other word in the language to designate the woman in her sexual distinction from the man. It is moreover striking that the Elohistic פרה ורבה (i. 22, 28) occurs elsewhere only Jer. iii. 16, xxiii. 3; Ezek. xxxvi. 11; comp. Zech. x. 8; but this pairing of the two synonyms may indeed be regarded as a peculiarity of style, but not as a characteristic sign in any language. Again, it is striking that דְּמוּת (i. 26, v. 3), apart from the chronologically uncertain passages, Ps. lviii. 5, 2 Kings xvi. 10, is found only in 2 Isa., Ezekiel and Daniel, and still more so that the word צלם, used by the Elohist, i. 26 sq., v. 3, ix. 6, to express man's likeness

to God, is without parallel, Ps. xxxix. 7 and lxxiii. 20 even entering into collision with this application of the word. דְּמוּת however may, like זְנוּת, Hos. iv. 11, vi. 10, belong to the classic period of the language, and צֶלֶם is not found for the *imago divina* even in post-exilian writings, although we meet in them with tones in unison with those of the Elohistic account of the creation which are absent from pre-exilian writings, *e.g.* the waters that are above the heavens, Ps. cxlviii. 4, and the תְּהוֹם, which covered the originating earth like a garment, civ. 6. Accident and choice have here prevailed, as is shown *e.g.* by allusions to the primordial תֹּהוּ וָבֹהוּ, being found only in Jer. iv. 23; Isa. xxxiv. 11; Ezekiel nowhere uses the word תֹּהוּ so frequent in 2 Isa.; while on the other hand its appearance Isa. xxix. 11 is a pledge that it belongs to the classic period.

We might beforehand expect that more points of contact with the Priest-codex would be found in the priestly prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel than elsewhere. And if it is, as we have shown, the case that Deuteronomy does not indeed as yet presuppose the Priest-codex in its complete form, but an Elohistic Thorah, it is easily conceivable, that subsequently to the era of Josiah literature would not only be under the preponderating influence of Deuteronomy, but would here and there receive also an Elohistic tinge. The style too of the Jehovist, in passages where no suspicion of interpolation can arise, already assumes sometimes an Elohistic colouring, *e.g.* the expression for the plague of frogs, Ex. viii. 3, corresponds with Gen. i. 20. The non-Elohistic verses, Gen. vii. 8 (comp. Ezek. xxxviii. 20) and Deut. iv. 18 (comp. Ezek. viii. 10), approach in their use of the peculiarly Elohistic רמשׂ the Elohistic style, while Hos. ii. 20 sounds like an echo of Gen. i. 25, vi. 20.

There are then no marks of style which constrain us to relegate the Elohistic account of the creation to the period of the exile. If it is to be regarded as the portal of the historical work of *Q*, which embraces the ancient Elohistic Thorah and is homogeneous with it, no appeal can be made to the account of the creation for relegating the origin of this historical work

to the period of the exile. It is in any case a tradition reaching back to the Mosaic period, which the account of the creation reproduces; for the foundation of the Sabbath upon the Sabbath of creation is defended as a matter of ancient tradition by the Decalogue. Neither Ex. xx. 11 (heaven, earth, sea, וַיָּנַח, ויקדשהו) nor Ex. xxxi. 17 (שבת וַיִּנָּפַשׁ) proves itself to be taken from the Elohistic account of the creation.

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We are able to separate into its component parts the fabric of the Pentateuch (Joshua included); but when we proceed to inquire when the separate elements here interwoven came into existence, we are but groping in the dark. Budde in his work on the Scriptural primitive history, 1883, hazards the conjecture, that the original account of the creation (in the Jahvist, whom he letters as J^2) came to the Israelites from Mesopotamia, and that in the time of Ahaz—that is, at the time when the cowardly unbelief of Ahaz purchased the help of Assyria, and thereby delivered up not only Syria and Ephraim, but his own kingdom also to Assyria. He also designates as "one of the most ancient inheritances of genuine criticism" the knowledge that the original account of creation enumerated eight works (light, the firmament, the dry land, plants, the stars, air and water animals, land animals, man), and that *Q* impressed upon this older model, which made creation take place in eight works, the period of six days with the concluding Sabbath. This is not shown by the diction, for all is of one style, of one cast. But it is said to be indicated by the fact, that the third and fourth works (dry land and plants) are forced together into one day, the third, while on the contrary the second and third (the firmament and the dry land) are torn asunder and assigned to two days, although the creation of birds and fishes form one work, and consequently the firmament and the dry land should also be the work of one day. In any case however there is more sense in the Hexaëmeron than in the unorganized eight works. Besides, the history of the world confirms the fact that in

processes of development the middle is wont to be comparatively weaker and the end comparatively stronger than the beginning. In accordance with this, each triad of creative acts in the process of creation forms a whole in which what made its appearance in the first is continued in the second and attains its aim in the third. There is delicate contrivance and, as we think, fundamental importance in the circumstance, that the course of creation is effected according to the rhythm —∪–́

The Hexaëmeron of the account of creation as now extant falls into two groups of three days, so arranged that the days' works of the second group accord with the corresponding ones of the first. On the first day light was created, on the fourth the heavenly light-giving bodies; on the second day the vault of heaven dividing the waters from the waters, on the fifth the birds of heaven and the animals of the waters; on the third day, after the appearance of the dry land, the vegetable world; on the sixth land animals, to fill the dry land now provided with herbage for their nourishment, and man, in whom the whole animal creation reaches its climax. This parallelism strikes the eye at once. It remains, even if an older account enumerating eight works without a division into days is assumed, when two equally corresponding groups of four take the place of the groups of three. In both cases the second series begins with the creation of sun, moon, and stars. It is questionable in what sense; for only if no consistent connection at all could be perceived could it be admitted, that the beginning of the second series is out of connection with the first (v. Hofm.). But this is not the case. It may be conceived, that an advance is made from the plants which are bound to the soil to substances moving freely in space, the stars above. So Drechsler, Dillmann, etc., and also Riehm, who at the same time remarks, that this is not as prominent in the Hexaëmeron as formerly: that the fourth day's work has now a hybrid position, forming on one side the commencement of the creation of the freer individual

existences, and being on the other, as the equipment of the vault of heaven, the corresponding half to the clothing of the earth. For plants clothe and adorn the earthly floor as the heavenly bodies do the superstructure of the whole edifice. Then would the narrative intimate, as we read in the poets, that the flowers are the stars of earth, and the stars the flowers of heaven, as Rückert says—

Die Sonn' ist eine goldne Ros' im Blauen,
Die Ros' ist eine rote Sonn' im Grünen.[1]

The connection however of the several acts of creation is throughout closer, more genetic, and brought about in a more inward manner. For this very reason, the view that the creation of independent individual existences began with the stars and then continued in the animals of air and water is an unsatisfactory one. From plants to the lower animals, and from these through the land mammalia to man, there is progress; but that in this scale of being sun, moon and stars should form a degree between plants and the lower animals, is too unnatural and far-fetched a notion to be the meaning of the account. To me the placing of the stars in the midst of the gradually progressive creation of this earthly world has always seemed and still seems to have another intention. The fundamental condition of all creative development is light, therefore light opens the series of the creative acts. But after the Divine fiat has called forth the vegetable world, the creation of this fundamental condition of the continuance and growth of all life upon earth is completed by the creation of sun, moon and stars. Hence this follows the creation of the vegetable and precedes that of the animal world. It was not possible that plants should arise without light; but when the creation of the independent creatures is about to take place, the light is parted into bodies of light, and at the same time a stable, regular and visible measure of time is established. The alternation of day and night had hitherto been effected

[1] The sun is a golden rose in the blue,
The rose is a red sun in the green.

by the exercise and the cessation of God's creative agency, but henceforth they alternate for the good of the creatures, according to the universal timepiece of the heavenly bodies.[1]

Even Budde concedes, with regard to the Decalogue, that the Hebdomad of days was not invented, but met with by the author of the account, even supposing that his original did not contain it. It is no plan of his making, but one Divine and traditional, and there is objective truth in the circumstance that three creative acts of God twice form a whole, and that the third is in both instances a double one. For the rest however the author has given play to his subjectivity by impressing on the process of creation, even within the frame of the seven days with its twice three work days, many judicious arithmetical proportions. A creative and directing word of command, introduced by ויאמר, is ten times issued (the עשרה מאמרות, *Aboth* v. 1, of which i. 3 gives the first, i. 29 the tenth) and a seven times repeated ויהי (ויהי־אור, ver. 3, and ויהי־כן, vv. 7, 9, 11, 15, 24, 30) confirms the accomplishment of the uttered will of God. A threefold ויקרא refers to God the distinctive names of the separate creations; a threefold ויברך (vv. 22, 28 and ii. 3) records His blessing upon animals, men, and the Sabbath day; a sevenfold טוב impresses upon the creature the seal of the Divine approbation. These relations of number are significant, but no inward necessity requires their statement, for a ויברך might have followed ver. 25 also, but is omitted because the narrative hastens on to the creation of man; the threefold ויקרא (vv. 5, 8, 10) is completed, v. 2, by a fourth; and with regard to the ten ויאמר, Dillmann is right in saying, that in ver. 22 also ויאמר might stand instead of לאמר.

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The text of the account of creation, as translated by the LXX., differs in many though non-essential respects from our Hebrew text. This was at that time not as yet so unalterably

[1] In this view the relation of the narrative to physical science is not one of such rude antagonism as Driver thinks, who in his article "The Cosmogony of Genesis," in the *Expositor* 1886, 1, lays special stress on this discord.

fixed as subsequently. Besides, the treatment of his text by the translator was then freer than is now thought consistent with the duty of a believer in the Bible. Hence it is in most cases difficult to say, whether their Hebrew text of the LXX. was a different one from the Masoretic, or whether their divergences are free modifications. Their Hebrew text seems to have actually contained another verse after ver. 9, viz. *καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ὤφθη ἡ ξηρά*, for here *συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν* (מקומותם) presupposes, instead of *καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ*, the Hebrew וַיִּקָּווּ הַמַּיִם.—In the second day's work the *καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως* stands in the LXX. not after ויעש וגו׳, as in the Hebrew text, but after the creative command ver. 6, which in itself, and as ver. 14–16 shows, is the more fitting place. On the other hand the insertion of the *καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν* after the second day's work rests upon a short-sighted desire for conformity; it is there purposely absent, because the gathering of the waters under the firmament was not as yet effected.—In ver. 11 it inserts after מזריע זרע, *κατὰ γένος καὶ ὁμοιότητα*, and places למינו as it stands in ver. 12 of the Hebrew text after אשר זרעו בו. It also translates the למינהו of ver. 12 *κατὰ γένος καὶ ὁμοιότητα*, and after the second למינהו reads על־הארץ as in ver. 11, translating *οὗ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*. These divergences give an impression of arbitrariness; the superfluous *καὶ ὁμοιότητα* may be a gloss which has slipped into the Greek text, especially as *ὁμοιότης* is besides not a Septuagint word,—*καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως*, after ver. 20, is in accordance with the matter, but unnecessary; the other divergences are not worth speaking of. It is just where a various reading in the LXX. would be acceptable, that it leaves us in the lurch. Like the Hebrew text, it has the striking *καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς*, 26*b*, and the extraordinary *καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως* after ver. 30.

I. 1. *The fact of creation in a universal statement.—In the beginning Elohim created the heavens and the earth.* The account is at once designated as the work of the Elohist by the

Divine name אלהים, for the Creator of the world might just as well have been called יהוה, as *e.g.* in Ps. xxxiii. 6; comp. ברא יהוה, Isa. iv. 5, with ברא אלהים, Deut. iv. 32. This Divine name אלהים is the plural of אֱלוֹהַּ, which occurs only in poetry. It is certainly striking that the singular אֱלוֹהַּ is unused in prose literature, and that in proper names also there is not a trace of its employment. But there is no reason for inferring, with Nestle (*Theol. Studien aus Würtemberg*, iii. 243), that אלהים is related to אֵלִים, as אֲמָהוֹת, Aram. אֲבָהָת, is to the nearest plural forms of אָמָה, אָב, and that in this case as in those ה is only an insertion to be deducted, and hence that אֱלוֹהַּ cannot be regarded as the original singular of אלהים, but on the contrary as an additional secondary form from this epenthetic plural. This inference rests on the assumption that אלהים and אֵל are derived from the same verbal root. We shall have occasion to speak about אֵל at xiv. 18. But whether the verbal stem from which it is derived is איל (אול) or אָלָה, and means to be strong, or to be foremost, or anything else, אָלַהּ, from which אלהים is derived, is at all events another verb, to which the signification of violent inward anxiety, discomposure, fear, is assured by the Arabic اله الى (وله). اله الى means in Arabic exactly the same as פחד אֵל, Hos. iii. 5, *trepide confugere ad aliquem*, and hence אלהים, with its singular אלוה, coincides as an appellation of God with פַּחַד, Gen. xxxi. 42, 53; and מוֹרָא, Isa. viii. 13; Ps. lxxvi. 12. Eloah, Arab. *ilâh*, means reverence, and then the object of reverence. *Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*, says Statius (Thebais, ix. 661), the religious sentiment was and is in its deepest foundation a feeling of dependence and limitation. The plural אלהים ranks with אֲדֹנִים, בְּעָלִים; in heathenism it is an external (numerical), in Israel an internally multiplying (intensive) plural. God is thus designated as He who is in the highest degree to be reverenced. בּוֹרְאִים as an appellation of the all-exalted Creator, Eccles. xii. 1, is a similar plural (though, according to Baer, not בוראֶיךָ, but בוראֲךָ, is the Masoretically authorized reading). The

verb ברא, together with which the Elohist has used עשה, but never יצר, has, as its Piel, בָּרֵא, shows, the fundamental meaning of to cut, to cut out, and then of the forming and fashioning to be thus effected. In other languages also the verbs used to designate the creative agency of the Godhead fall back upon similar original material meanings, *e.g.* Assyr. *patâḳu* (whence *pâtiḳu*, creator, synonymous with *bâni*), to break, to split; Arab. خلق, to make, properly to smooth. With the withdrawal of the original material meaning ברא in Kal has become the special designation for Divine production, which, whether in the realm of nature (Ex. xxxiv. 10; Num. xvi. 30) or of spirit (Ps. li. 12), brings into existence something new, something not yet or not thus existing. Nowhere is ברא used of human production, nowhere is it found with an accusative of the matter. It designates the Divine causality as unconditioned, and its product as being, with respect to its real state, absolutely new, and, as to its ultimate cause, miraculous and God-originated. There are many modes of creation, *e.g.* the creation of man was a different process from the creation of animals; the kernel of the notion expressed by ברא is the origination of the absolutely new, and both the beginning in time of such origination and the finiteness of the originated are essential marks of the notion.

The account begins with an alliteration significant to eye and ear, בראשׁית ברא. The accentuation distinguishes as far as possible each word of this supremely important verse. Tifcha, the separative of Athnach, stands in בראשית as the definition of time which is separated from what follows; in 1*b* as the separative of Silluk it keeps the two objects apart, and the two אֵת are made independent by means of Mercha, the servant of Tifcha and Silluk, while Athnach has its Munach as a servant.

Ancient translators all regard ver. 1 as an independent proposition. Rashi however, and among moderns Ewald, Bunsen, Schrader, Budde construe: In the beginning, when Elohim created heaven and earth—and the earth was waste and desert, etc.—then God said; otherwise, Abenezra and Grotius:

In the beginning, when Elohim created the heaven and the earth, the earth was waste and desert. The former is, according to Hos. i. 2, syntactically admissible. The latter might, according to vii. 10, xxii. 1, seem equally so, but neither of these examples is exactly similar: vii. 10 follows the plan of contemporaneousness, Josh. iii. 3, and xxii. 1 that, viz., of making the circumstances preceding the principal sentence, xl. 1. If the account had begun with ויהי בראשית, xxii. 1 would be similar: It came to pass in the beginning, when God created . . . that when the earth was . . . God said. Since however no ויהי stands first, we must admit that the language proceeds paratactically. The sole ground for the periodizing construction is, that בראשית requires a nearer genitive definition, and that without such it must rather have been, instead of בְּרֵאשִׁית, בָּרֵאשִׁית, as it is transcribed in Greek *βαρησήθ* (Lagarde, *Symmicta*, i. 113; comp. *Götting. Anzeiger*, 1882, p. 327 sq.), although even then the *a* may be but a disguised shevâ.

We have here however a similar case with Deut. xi. 12, Isa. xlvi. 10, where ראשית has neither genitive nor suffix, but the nearer definition has to be supplied from the nature of the case or the connection. ראשית occurs only once, viz. Neh. xii. 44, with the article, where הראשית signifies the ראשית demanded by the law (Ex. xxiii. 19 and elsewhere), the first-fruits of the ground. Everywhere besides it is either defined by the following genitive, or by its suffix, or the completion of the definition is left to the hearer (reader). It has been said that בראשית is in a twofold sense an Aramaism: (1) because in being without an article it ranks with בְּקַדְמִין (so here Onkelos), and (2) because in old Hebrew ראשית does not mean the beginning of an event, but the first (and generally the best) part of anything. The latter is however untrue; Driver rightly refers, in opposition to it, to Hos. ix. 10, where a fig-tree "in its beginning" is equal to, in the beginning of fig-time; also at Gen. x. 10, ראשית signifies not the first part, but the temporal beginning. The beginning which precedes or stands at the head of a series or course is everywhere called ראשית

(from רֵאשׁ=רֹאשׁ, the head as the foremost). And with respect to the absence of the article, it corresponds, without being an Aramaism, with the spirit of the old Hebrew tongue, which here as often is undefinable. We find בְּתְחִלָּה, but never בְּתְחִלָה; always בְּרֵאשִׁנָה, never בְּרֹאשׁנה; and on the other hand לְפָנִים, מֵרֹאשׁ, מִקֶּדֶם, always without an article. The Aramaic also frequently uses and omits determinatives only according to a certain feeling not to be more precisely accounted for. The Targum, Jer. ii., translates בראשית by מִן־אוּלָא, but Hos. ix. 10 means an undetermined בְּאֻלָּ in the beginning (early), and בְּקַדְמֵיתָא is used as well as בְּקַדְמִין for *initio* (*e.g.* Gen. xiii. 4). In Greek too ἐν ἀρχῇ is used (LXX. here and John i. 1), not ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ; but τὴν ἀρχήν (John viii. 23) is under certain circumstances used for *initio*.

Besides the relativity of the ראשית is involved in the notion, the article does not abolish it. The question still remains: Beginning of what? First part of what? What is the relation of the relative notion which must be here added in thought? Lyra (dissenting herein from Rashi) explains: *in principio*, scil. *temporis*, but this is too abstract, *vel productionis rerum*, but this gives a tautology, for heaven and earth are *res*, and indeed the very *res*, with which the Divine creation not only began, but in which it came forth. Nor can the meaning be: In the beginning of the world (of things) God created the matter of the universe, for heaven and earth are the universe itself in its twofold order, not the *prima materia* of both. Hence ראשית will here be the beginning of the history which follows, as ἐν ἀρχῇ is meant absolutely of the beginning of existence. The history to be related from this point onwards has heaven and earth for its object, its scene, its factors. At the head of this history stands the creation of the world as its commencement, or at all events its foundation.

The relation in which ver. 1 stands to ver. 2 is questionable. If the heaven, whose creation takes place farther on, on the fourth day, coincides with השמים of ver. 1, ver. 1 would be a summary of what follows. But the heaven which was

created on the fourth day is only the heaven of the earthly world, while Scripture speaks also of the heaven of heavens, Deut. x. 14, and of the heaven of heavens which are of old, Ps. lxviii. 33, therefore of heavenly spheres above the heaven of this earth. Besides, the נעשה, *faciamus*, ver. 26, presupposes beings in the immediate presence of God, of whose creation (prior, as it appears from Job xxxviii. 4–7, to that of this world) nothing is said in the narrative. Hence ver. 1 states the fact of creation in an extent which the account that follows does not exhaust. It is within the all-embracing work of creation, stated in ver. 1, that ver. 2 takes up its position, at the point when the creation of this earth and its heaven begins: *And the earth was in a state of desolation and rigidity, and darkness was upon the surface of the primæval waters, and the Spirit of Elohim brooded upon the surface of the waters.* The perfect thus preceded by its subject is the usual way of stating the circumstances under which a following narrative takes place, iii. 1, iv. 1, xviii. 17–20; Num. xxxii. 1; Judg. xi. 1, vi. 33; 1 Kings i. 1 sqq.; Prov. iv. 3 sq.; Zech. iii. 3 sq. The chief accent of הָיְתָה could not here before תֹּהוּ seem to have fallen back upon the penultima, because then the two similar tones *thō* and *thā* would have been in danger of being indistinct; in truth however there is a very subtile accentualogical reason.[1] This היתה is no mere *erat*, it declares that the earth was found in a condition of תהו ובהו, when God's six-days' creative agency began. Its primitive condition is designated by a pair of words of similar sound,

[1] The *servus Mercha* before *Pashta* remains as a rule in its place, because if it were to recede it must be changed into *another* sign, and indeed into *Mehupach*. It therefore maintains its position unaltered — especially when the accent *Rebia* precedes. Hence here והארץ הָיְתָה תֹהוּ, comp. פרעה רֹעֶה צֹאן (xlvii. 3), השׁשׁ לקטוּ להם (Ex. xvi. 22), כִּי כל־העשׂה בהּ (*ibid.* xxxi. 14), דוֹר לְהַבִיא גת (1 Sam. xxvii. 11), הֹמה ומרי נפשׁ (2 Sam. xvii. 8), יעקב ובחר עוֹד (Isa. xiv. 1), אפרים רֹעֶה רוּח (Hos. xii. 2), האוֹצר ויהי טרף (Mal. iii. 10), and elsewhere.

and such-like endings (rhymes) and alliterations (comp. *κτῆσις καὶ χρῆσις, λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, ἔργον καὶ ἔπος*) are found throughout the Pentateuch, iv. 12; Ex. xxiii. 1; Num. v. 18, 24; Deut. ii. 15. תֹּהוּ (=תֹּהֶוּ=תָּהְוָה) comes from the V. תָּהָה, Aram. תְּהָא, Arab. تَاهَ, to roar, to be desolate, to be confounded (*attonitum esse*), and n. ans desolation, *vastitas*, emptiness, formlessness. בֹּהוּ (=בֹּהֶוּ=בָּהְיָה) has, according to the Syriac and the secondary verb בָּהַם (to be closed, deaf, stupid), the meaning of heaviness, unconsciousness, lifelessness,—the תהו paired with בהו does not with the separative accent read regularly וָבֹהוּ, but with the first sound kametz, וָבָהוּ (see Ps. lv. 10). The sound as well as the meaning of the pair of words is awe-inspiring; the earth according to its substratum was a desolate and dead mass, in a word a chaos (*χάος*). The book of Wisdom xi. 18 has for it the philosophic appellation *ὕλη ἄμορφος*, in opposition to which the LXX. by translating *ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος* fixes in the *ἀόρατος* that stage of ideal pre-existence in the Divine plan of the world concerning which the account is silent. The question whether the תהו ובהו is to be regarded as potentially including not only earth but also heaven, must according to the meaning of the narrative, which herein agrees with other ancient cosmogonies, be answered in the affirmative. The chaos, as which the developing earth existed, embraced also the heaven which was developing with and for it. The substance of the תהו ובהו is left undefined; תהו is the synonym of אַיִן, אֶפֶס, בְּלִימָה, הֶבֶל and the like, and is therefore a purely negative notion. Or does the narrative, when it continues וחשך על־פני תהום, mean that the תהו ובהו were as to their substance a תהום, *i.e.* a mass of surging waters? No, the תהום is not the תהו ובהו themselves, but the flooding of the chaos, and, especially if the earth in its as yet chaotic state, already forms part of the preparation of the six days' work. In this sense Ps. civ. says of the earth: Thou coveredst it with the תהום as with a garment (כסיתו, *per attract.* for כסיתה, comp. Isa. lx. 18, lxvi. 8); and in the book of Job we read of the sea, xxxviii. 8: "I protected the sea

with doors, when it brake forth, issued from the womb; when I made the clouds the garment thereof, and thick darkness a swaddling-band for it." This means the state of chaos out of which the primæval waters, at first enveloped in vapour and clouds, came forth as from their mother's womb. It corresponds to *Báav* (בָּהוּ), personified as a woman in the Phœnician cosmogony; but in the Babylonian in Berosus it is the dark primæval flood which as *Ὁμόρωκα* (perhaps the same as *Umm-arka*, Mother of Erech, a second name of the wife of the moon-god Sin, honoured in Erech or Warka) is personified as a female. This becomes the תלדת, *i.e.* the originating cause (*matrix*), there combined with *θάλαττα*, of heaven and earth, which arise from its being rent asunder. In the cuneiform fragments also of the Babylonio-Assyrian legend of the creation, the primæval deep and chaos are identical. Chaos is called *ti'amtu* (*tâmtu*), and this (a synon. of *apsu*, Ocean) is the producing mother of all things. Hence the word is in Babylonio-Assyrian feminine, as are in Hebr. almost all nouns formed with the prefix *ta*, *e.g.* תְּנוּפָה, תְּבוּאָה. The form תְּהוֹם is an ancient formation like תֵּבֵל, תַּעַר; comp. יָקוּם, which is just as old a noun-form with the prefix *ja*. If the stem were תהם (*DMZ.* xxvi. 211 sq.), תְּהוֹם would be a form like חֲמוֹר, Aram. נְחוֹר, חֲשׁוֹךְ; to us however it seems more probable that הום (akin to חמה), to roar, to bluster, is the stem-word.

"A created chaos," says Dillmann, "is a nonentity. If once the notion of an Almighty God is so far developed that He is also conceived of as the author of matter, the application of chaos in the doctrine of creation must consequently cease. For such a God will not first create the matter and then the form, but both together." Certainly the account does not expressly say that God created chaos, on which account the so-called restitution hypothesis, as Zöckler, its first post-Reformation advocate, disclosed to the Arminian Episcopius,[1] fancies itself justified in assuming that the chaos was the

[1] But compare Joh. Delitzsch († 3 Feb. 1876), "Ein altes Theologumenon," in the *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1872.

consequence of a derangement connected with the fall of the angels, and that the six days' creation was the restoration of a new world from the ruin of the old. But (1) if by chaos were meant the deposit of such a process in the spirit-world, we should have וַתְּהִי instead of והיתה; (2) this notion is a Theologumen read into the text, and not one to be proved by Holy Scripture; and (3) we have no need of it to understand that the creation of the earthly world had its beginning from a chaos. For on the one hand the all-comprising statement, ver. 1, at the head of the narrative, declares that God is not only the former, but the creator of the world, to the exclusion of anything originating apart from Him; on the other hand, the circumstance that chaos is not expressly stated to have been created by God, is explained by chaos being only a means not an end, only the substratum of the work of creation and not properly such a creative work itself; God made it the foundation of His creative agency, for the purpose of gradually doing away with it. For the world is the non-Divine, the creation of the world is the realization of something different from God. Hence the world comes forth first of all in a condition which answers to its contrast to God, and it is in the course of the six days' work raised out of this condition into one pleasing to God, and in which the problem of its history, concentrated as it is in man, is to develop an ever-increasing likeness to God. If it does not contradict the idea of an Almighty God that the development of the cosmos was effected in a series of gradually advancing creative epochs, neither will the fact of His having made chaotic primitive matter, as yet formless and confused, the foundation of this development. Such a foundation is even of the highest cosmical and ethic significance, for the raising up of the world out of chaos involves the possibility of its reverting thereto, and of the relapse of man to that materiality which is the foundation of his being. The possibility of such a reversion to the tohu-wa-bohu is pointed out by pictures of judgment, such as Isa. xxxiv. 8–11, Jer. iv. 23–26,

which go near to representing primitive matter as a fiery stream; the process of formation was indeed prepared for by the thohu being flooded over by the thehôm.

Darkness (חֹשֶׁךְ ✓ חש, to press together, to thicken, see comm. on the Psalms on 2 Sam. xxii. 12) settled over this flood of waters, in which the fervid heat of chaos was quenched; but though there was now present in water the solvent which brings all matter into contact and interaction, only accidental forms devoid of plan would have resulted had not the Spirit of God hovered over the waters. Dillmann rightly finds in this מְרַחֶפֶת a "delicate allusion" to the myth of the world-egg. Cheyne (art. "Cosmogony" in the *Encycl. Britannica*) translates "the wind of Elohim." Certainly רוח means breeze and spirit, רחף however cannot be said of the wind, but indicates that the action of the Spirit is similar to that of a bird, as Milton says:

"Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss."

For רָחַף means, according to its root, to keep the wings loose, so that they touch and yet do not touch (*DMZ.* xxxix. 607), and then both to brood with loose wings over and to hover down in flight upon anything. The Ethiopic translates *jesêlel*, he overshadowed, with reference to Luke i. 35, but the real New Testament parallel is Matt. iii. 16. The sanction of the Spirit of God, even Him who came down in the form of a dove upon Jesus, is compared with the brooding of a bird. The Jerus. Targum calls this Spirit רוחא דרחמין, the spirit of love, and the Midrash on Genesis ch. viii. is even so bold as to say that He is רוחי של מלך המשיח, the Spirit of the future Christ.

The First Day of Creation, i. 3–5.

Ver. 2, beginning with the chief historical tense ויאמר, states the circumstances under which the creative acts of the

six days now take place, in a verb sentence and two noun sentences: *Then Elohim said, Let light be: and light was.* The first of the beings of the Cosmos, *i.e.* of the ordered universe, was light (אוֹר with the vibrating sound ר, which is also characteristic of ראה). The creation of light forms the commencement of the acts of creation; for as water, the primitive matter, leads to new material combinations, so are the forces manifesting themselves, as light with heat (אוֹר, *lux*, and אוּר, *calor*), the *conditio sine qua non* of all further origination of separate beings. Primitive light comes into being, light not at first restricted to the heavenly bodies, especially to that source of light the sun; for the source of primitive light is God. But not in an emanative sense, for it comes into being through the creative word of command, the *fiat* of God, that word in which His will is comprised and energised—הוּא אָמַר וַיֶּהִי, Ps. xxxiii. 9, comp. 6. His calling the light into being is the commencement, and its appearing good in His sight is the close of its genesis, ver. 4: *And Elohim saw the light, that it was good: and Elohim divided between the light and the darkness.* Instead of טוֹב הוּא (comp. Ex. xii. 2; Eccles. ii. 24) it is here briefly טוֹב, as in the Hodu Ps. cvi. 1, and frequently; and instead of: He saw that the light was good, it is said: He saw the light, that (it) was good, that which was perceived being divided into a nearer and a more distant, *i.e.* a predicative object (corresponding with the classical *acc. c. inf.*, inasmuch as the accusative is after the model of Apollonios Dyskolos attracted to the finite), as in vi. 2, xii. 14, xiii. 10, xlix. 15; Ex. ii. 2; Ps. xxv. 19; Prov. xxiii. 31; Eccles. ii. 24, viii. 17; Gal. iv. 11; comp. the similar שָׁאַל נַפְשׁוֹ לָמוּת, 1 Kings xix. 4; Jonah iv. 8; and on the other hand, the construction with the undivided object, iii. 6. Chaos with the dark primæval waters is far below the ultimate purpose of God, who did not create the earth, תֹּהוּ, *i.e.* not that it might be and continue a תֹּהוּ, Isa. xlv. 18. The creation of light was the first of those works by means of which the world, now being brought into existence, became step by step

an object of the Divine complacency. The separation between light and darkness henceforth secures to both their independent peculiarity. The appearance of light is the first morning of creation, but does not absolutely do away with darkness; light and darkness are separated, that from this time forth they may alternate in conformity with law. In place of a single בין, the account with circumstantial solemnity prefers ובין . . . בין, as *e.g.* does also Cicero in Laelius, c. 25: *quid intersit inter popularem . . . et inter constantem.* The testimony, כי טוב, is given to the light, not to the darkness, but both are named by God, ver. 5: *And Elohim called the light "Day," and the darkness called He "Night." And it was evening and was morning—one day* (the first day). He called the light "day," *i.e.* by the name day = gave it this name; comp. xxxi. 47 with ii. 20, xxvi. 18, where שם also stands. The name, as given by God, is the expression of the nature and the seal of the future mode of appearance of light and darkness; the many-tongued human names are but lisping attempts to denote the nature of things. Day is called in Hebrew יום, Assyr. *ûmu*, perhaps related with חם (xviii. 1; comp. יָמִים, xxxvi. 24 = חַמִּים, *thermæ*), as the time of warmth and hence of light; night, לַיְלָה (here in pause לָ֫יְלָה, with a toneless and therefore an accusativo-adverbial *a*, like modern Greek *ἡ νύκτα*, *νύχθα*), perhaps as the time of veiling and enveloping (from לוּל out of לִוְלָה); in Assyr. the plural is *lilâti*, which presupposes a fem. sing. *lîlatu*, *lîltu*, and besides usually means the evening in distinction from *mûšu*, night. When then it is evening the *terminus a quo* is the morning, which dawned with the creation of light, and the morning which follows the evening is that which begins the second day, and therefore terminates the first.—Hence the days of the Hexaëmeron are not reckoned from evening to evening, *νυχθήμερα* (Dan. viii. 14; 2 Cor. xi. 25), according to the computation of the subsequent ecclesiastical Mosaic calendar, but from morning to morning, as the Babylonians reckoned their days. For, says Pliny, *h. n.* ii. 79, *alii aliter observavere, Babylonii inter*

duos solis exortus.[1] The evening seems to be called עֶרֶב, as being the mingling of light with darkness, the twilight, in which the darkness begins to be overcome by the light. According however to the Assyr. *irib šamši*, sun going in = מבוא השמש, it means the time of the going in (setting) of the sun, from *érêbu*, to go in, to go down, like Isa. xxiv. 11, ערבה כל־שמחה, all joy is gone down. בֹּקֶר without doubt means properly the breaking, viz. of light, hence early morning (comp. בְּכוֹר, בִּכּוּרָה, בָּחוּר, a youth, where the breaking forth, the first appearance, the early, is everywhere the fundamental notion). יוֹם אֶחָד is found instead of יום ראשון, אחד being used as in ii. 11, iv. 19, and in אֶחָד בַּשַּׁבָּת, *μία τῶν σαββάτων*, Matt. xxviii. 1, equivalent to ראשון; the day which forms the *cardo ordinis* is designated by the cardinal number, the article is absent as it regularly is in a casting up enumeration. With respect to the length of the days of creation we would say with Augustine (*de civ. Dei*, xi. 6): *Qui dies cujusmodi sint, aut perdifficile nobis aut etiam impossibile est cogitare, quanto magis dicere.* Days of God are intended, and with Him a thousand years are but as a day that is past, Ps. xc. 4. M'Donald, Dawson, and others, who are convinced that the days of creation are, according to the meaning of Holy Scripture itself, not days of four-and-twenty hours, but æons, are perfectly right.[2] For this earthly and human measurement of time cannot apply to the first three days, if only because the sun, the measurer of time, did not as yet exist; nor to the Sabbath, because there the limiting formula is absent; while it by no means follows that the remaining three days were days of four-and-twenty hours, because they elapsed

[1] This twofold manner of reckoning days, sometimes from morning, sometimes from evening twilight, is found in the Avesta as well as in the Thorah; see Spiegel, "Zur Gesch. des Avestakalenders," in *DMZ.* xxxviii. 433 sq.

[2] According to a subsequent Indian view, the history of the world runs its course in an infinite series of creations and destructions (comp. a similar statement in Weber, *Synagogale Theologie*, p. 193 sq.): "The entire duration of the continuance of one of these creations is called a day, the interval of destruction until the next renovation a night of Brahma;" see Holtzmann in *DMZ.* xxxviii. 192.

between morning and morning. The account represents the work of God according to the image of human days, which together with the Sabbath form the primitive type of the human week. It lies, however, in the nature of the copy that it should correspond only on a very reduced scale with the incommensurable greatness of its original.[1] A limit is put to the six work-days only to give them in distinction from the Sabbath the character of terminated periods. The time at which the creative agency ever began anew is called morning; the time at which the Creator brought His work to a close, evening.[2] It is a childish, or to speak plainly, a foolish notion, arbitrarily forced upon the narrative without compulsory reasons, to make it measure the lapse of time from morning to evening and to morning again by a clock of human manufacture.

The Second Day of Creation, i. 6–8.

Darkness having been on the first day broken up by light, the primæval waters are now also broken up and separated, ver. 6: *Then Elohim said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it be dividing between waters against waters*, more accurately towards waters; the לְ (with a fore-tone Kametz) is that of relation, here, as in Jonah ii. 17, the local direction: between the waters towards the other waters; in ver. 7, when the division is effected, וּבֵין . . . בֵּין stands instead, as at 4*b*. The LXX. translates רָקִיעַ, *στερέωμα*, Jerome *firmamentum*, Gr. Ven. coming nearer to the root notion with a self-made *τάμα* (after *τέταμαι* from *τείνω*). The stem-word רקע means to tread (comp. רקד, رقص to stamp on the ground, as in the Horatian *nunc pede libero pulsanda tellus*), then also to make thin, close

[1] Driver also admits "that the writer may have consciously used the term figuratively." We assert it.

[2] I formerly thought: at which the Creator left His work to its own now established development. But if the evening means a pause in creating, a pause of rest extending from the evening of the sixth day till the morning of the seventh would have preceded the Sabbath of creation.

and firm, and in this way to extend, to stretch out. The higher ethereal region, the so-called atmosphere, the sky, is here meant; it is represented as the semi-spherical vault of heaven stretched over the earth and its waters, Prov. viii. 27; Job xxvi. 10. What Petavius (*de opificio mundi*) here remarks: *Cœtum aëreum στερέωμα dicitur non naturæ propria conditione, sed ab effectu, quod perinde aquas separet, ac si murus esset solidissimus*, must have forced itself upon ancient observation also. לִהְיוֹת might, agreeably to the meaning, have taken the place of וַיְהִי. מַבְדִּיל is not to be understood as a substantive in the meaning of a partition, but as "let it be dividing," which includes the notion "permanently" (Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, § 135. 5). It is intentionally that וַיַּבְדֵּל is not used, but that the statement of what is to be henceforth a law of nature is expressed in the *tempus durans* (comp. Num. xiv. 33; Deut. ix. 7). Ver. 7 gives the carrying out of that which was thus called into being: *And Elohim made the firmament, and divided between the waters beneath the firmament and the waters above the firmament; and it was so.* This ויהי־כן is placed by the LXX. after ver. 6, where, according to vv. 9, 15, 24, its original place may have been. It everywhere else stands after the creative fiat, but here after its accomplishment, declaring that the Divine will which had been expressed was fulfilled in and by the Divine operation. Instead of "between the waters towards the waters," it is here said, "between the waters which are below and the waters which are above the firmament;" מִתַּחַת לְ meaning beneath, מֵעַל לְ above, whereas מתחת with a genitive following means from beneath, 9*a*, and מעל with a genitive following means from above, Ex. xxv. 22, vii. 17. The upper waters are however called in Ps. cxlviii. 4, "the waters מעל השמים;" מעל with a gen. following sometimes coincides (*e.g.* xl. 17) with מעל ל, as "over" does with "above." The upper waters are the mists and clouds which move above us, the watery masses clinging to the arch of heaven, from which rain, bursting from the clouds, descends upon the earth,—or, to use a scientific term of similar meaning,

"the meteoric" water. Rain is described in the Old Testament as the emptying of the water-stores of heaven, the water-gates or sluices of heaven being opened (vii. 11; Ps. civ. 3, 13), and the heavenly waters, as it were, drawn off (Job xxxvi. 27), and channels, the paths for the lightnings, cleft for them (Job xxxviii. 24 sq.); the ancient representation is herein still incomplete, but in such descriptions the poetic form of statement chiefly prevails. After God had called forth the firmament by His creative word, and then effectually carried out His purpose (as is stated by עשׂה, which corresponds more with the Latin *perficere* than with *facere*), it received from Him its name, ver. 8: *And Elohim called the firmament "Heaven." And it was evening and was morning—a second day.* The form שָׁמַיִם is only apparently a dual (*DMZ.* xviii. 104), being really just as much a plural as the Phœn. שָׁמִם, שָׁמִין, Assyr. *šamê*, with the retention of the third letter of the stem (comp. the Chald. participles of verbs לָהּ, which make בָּנִין, pass. בְּנִין), for the primitive form of the verb שָׁמָה is שָׁמַו, whence the Arab. plural *samawât*, or שָׁמַי, whence the Æth. plural is *samajât*; it means, to be high (Arab. سما, with ب, to raise, *extollere*); also in ancient Greek *σάμοι*, according to Strabo (viii. 19, x. 17), means *τὰ ὕψη*. The spirit of the language as little thinks of a plurality of heavens in שמים as in *οὐρανοί*, *cœli*; here especially is meant the atmosphere stretched over us like a vault. The plural (see on this matter Dietrich's *Abhandlung zur hebr. Grammatik*, 1846) denotes the immeasurable heights and distances among which the up-looking eye loses itself. Scripture calls the heavens which span in continuous circles the heaven of this earthly world שְׁמֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם. The LXX. has, after the Divine naming, *καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι καλόν*. The account however contains seven well considered כי טוב, the seventh and last of which is טוב מאד. And here "God saw that it was good" would be as yet out of place, for the firmament divides the upper from the under waters, but the waters beneath still form a boundless continuity, which still holds imprisoned within it the developing

earth. Hence the כי טוב is reserved for the work of the next day.

The Third Day of Creation, i. 9–13.

The first creative act of the third day's work consisted in the embanking of the lower waters and the formation of the dry land, ver. 9: *And Elohim said, Let the waters gather together from under the heaven to one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so.* The Niphal נִקְוָה has here a reflexive meaning, to gather together, as at Jer. iii. 17, to accumulate. מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם is not a virtual adjective to הַמַּיִם: the waters situated under heaven, but belongs to the jussive: they are to gather together while in sinking they recede from heaven (comp. Jer. x. 11). The intensive form יַבָּשָׁה denotes the land according to its permanent quality of dryness. The jussive וְתֵרָאֶה commands only the appearing which strikes the senses. The account does not tell us the manner in which the at first embryonic earth floating in the waters with its relief of hills and valleys came into existence. What made its appearance when the waters gathered into one place is graphically particularized, Ps. civ. 7 sq. The mountains rose, the valleys sank, as Hilarius Pictav. says in his *Genesis*, ver. 97 sq.: *colles tumor arduus effert, Subsidunt valles.* The LXX. had in their Hebrew text the description of this event: *καὶ συνήχθη* κדλ. after ויהי כן. In our text the allotment of the name follows immediately on ויהי־כן, ver. 10: *And Elohim called the dry land "Earth;" and the gathering place of the waters called He "Seas:" and Elohim saw that it (was) good.* While God separates things according to their natures, He by this very act separates also notions and names; human naming is but the distant echo of this Divine act. Above it was the earth in its entirety, ver. 1, and then the chaotic mass, ver. 2, which was called הָאָרֶץ (as it is always written instead of הָאֶרֶץ); now, after the separation of the dry land and the waters, the land obtains the name אֶרֶץ (Assyr. *irsituv*, with a feminine ending), which probably means properly the

ground under our feet, from אֶרֶץ related with רָצַץ, رضى, to tread down, רוּץ, to run, *i.e.* according to Virgil, *celeri pede pulsare humum*. And the gathering place of the waters receives the name יַמִּים (different from יָמִים, and therefore not derived like it from a middle vowelled, but from a geminatum verbal stem), the seas or ocean, for the plural is here conceived of as singular and intensive (and construed accordingly, Ps. xlvi. 3 sq.). The sea in its origin is represented as a connected whole, in respect of which the lesser reservoirs, especially the rivers which it receives into itself, are unnoticed. After the basin of the sea, that Divine bulwark against the pressure of the waves, Job xxxviii. 11, Jer. v. 22, has come into existence—God finds it good. The dry land however, which is still bare and empty, He cannot as yet find good.

Hence a second creative act is on the third day added to the first, the world of plants arises, ver. 11: *And Elohim said, Let the earth sprouting sprout forth green, seed-yielding herbs, fruit trees bearing fruit after their* (the fruit trees) *kind, in which* (in which fruit) *their* (the fruit trees) *seed is, upon the earth: and it was so.* תַּדְשֵׁא has the euphonic Gaja to ensure a clear pronunciation to ד before שׁ, as in שַׁחֲרֶשֶׁת, Ex. xxviii. 22, to ר before שׁ. עֹשֶׂה has the tone falling back regularly on the penultima, and פְּרִי, *Dag. forte conjunctivum*. It is a question whether in עֹשֶׂה פְּרִי לְמִינוֹ the suffix of לְמִינוֹ falls back on פְּרִי or עֵץ פְּרִי; but certainly reference to the fruit tree (which is also accented accordingly) is intended, the fruit of the fruit tree is determined according to its species. The fruit is called פְּרִי, as that which has come forth or from (Fr. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* 114), *i.e.* in virtue of the productive vegetative power of the plant. The seed is called זֶרַע, like *semen*, from *serere*, the kind מִין, from מוּן, *fingere* (comp. مان, to think, to consider; مان, *fut. i*, to feign), whence also תְּמוּנָה, thus answering exactly to the Greek εἶδος, and the Latin *species*. The meaning *sulcare*, to which Dillmann refers this word in the sense of division, seems مان, *fut. i*, to have first

gained the meaning *sulcare* as a denom. from ﬠלֶם, furrow; and the Assyr. *mînu*, number = *minju* (Fr. Delitzsch, *Hebrew Language*, p. 40 sq.), is related to מִסְפָּר = מִנְיָן. Moreover the remark in Fr. Delitzsch's *Proleg.* 144, that in collective notions מין does not so much signify kind as distinction of kinds, is correct. Not three, but two kinds of plants are distinguished. For דשא according to the *schema etymologicum* belongs to הדשא, and is hence the conception of a species, which is then specialized. דֶּשֶׁא denotes plants in the first stage of their origin, the young sprouting green (comp. the agricultural picture, Prov. xxvii. 25: "the hay is carried, and the דשא, the second crop growing afterwards, showeth itself") which growing up becomes, some of it עֵשֶׂב, herbs, some of it עֵץ, trees. The herbs are called מַזְרִיעַ, seed-forming, seeding, what they become while maturing; comp. on the other hand זֹרֵעַ, seed-bearing, ver. 29, when come to maturity; both *Hiph.* and *Kal* are in this sense denominative. The final word of the creative fiat, עַל־הָאָרֶץ, falls back upon תדשא; for if connected with אשר זרעו־בו a false distinction is the result, since herbs also yield their seed upon the earth,—a distinction which is also inadequately expressed, for it should be מעל instead of על. Thus the earth is to bring forth these kinds of plants upon the earth, *i.e.* as a clothing for itself. The accomplishment, ver. 12, is thus stated: *And the earth sprouting brought forth green, herbs yielding seed after their* (the herbs') *kind, and trees bearing fruit, wherein is their* (the trees') *seed, after their* (the trees') *kind: and Elohim saw that it was good.* While there is now no generation of organic existences from lifeless matter, the world of plants originally came into existence through the earth being miraculously fertilized by the word of God. And here, on the third day, the narrative relegates the severance of the kinds entirely to the beginning of creation. Instead of לְמִינוֹ we have here in ver. 12 לְמִינֵהוּ twice, with the suffix *ēhu*, from *ahu*, customary with nouns from verbs לה, but elsewhere rare. The second creative act of the third day is also sealed with: "Elohim saw that it (was) good." On the

first day we have כי־טוב once, on the second not at all, on the third twice.[1] Both triads represent the scheme —ᴗ⏑ ver. 13: *And it was evening and was morning—a third day.*

The Fourth Day of Creation, i. 14–19.

The fourth work-day is parallel with the first. On the first light was created, on the fourth the firmament was endowed with the light-giving bodies. The generation and existence of plants was not possible without the light created on the first day; but now, when creation rises from plant-life to animated living beings, light is separated and united to heavenly bodies as regulators of the application of its benefits to the earth, ver. 14: *And Elohim said: Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven, to divide between the day and the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons* (serving to measure them), *and for* (the measurement of) *days and years.* The Divine: Let there be, is still יְהִי though followed by a plural subject, as at v. 23, ix. 29, Num. ix. 6; and the same *enallage numeri* is found Ex. xxviii. 7, even with a not subsequent but preceding material subject (Ges. § 146. 3); here too it is apparent that the notion which is in Hebrew combined with the plural is originally and predominantly rather cumulative than multiplicative. The light is called אוֹר, the lights (light-bearers, light-bodies) מְאֹרֹת, LXX. *φωστῆρες* (once, Ps. cxxxvi. 7, with poetic boldness אוֹרִים; and once, Ezek. xxxii. 8, with peculiar accuracy מְאוֹרֵי אוֹר). The lights called into existence in the firmament of heaven have (*A*) the double special purpose: 1. of dividing the entire day into two halves, a day-half and a night-half; 2. they are to serve (וְהָיוּ, *et fiant*, ruled by the preceding jussive) (*a*) for אֹתֹת, signs (plur. of אוֹת = *awajat*, from אוה, related to תוה, תאה),[2] *i.e.* signs of the weather, of the quarters of heaven, or also of historical occurrences (comp. Jer. x. 2, where אתות השמים refer to astrological prognosis), whether in a

[1] Hence Tuesday is called by the Jews *Ki-tob*, and reckoned a lucky day, and therefore a favourite wedding-day.

[2] So also Friedr. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* 116 sq.

regular or, like Matt. ii. 2, Luke xxi. 25, an extraordinary manner; (*b*) for מוֹעֲדִים (comp. the echo, Ps. civ. 9), limits of time (from יעד, to predetermine whether space or time), *i.e.* for the intimation and regulation of definite periods and intervals of time, in virtue of their periodic influence upon husbandry, navigation, and the work of other human callings, as well as upon the course of plant, animal and human life (the growth of plants, the coupling time of animals, the migration of birds, Jer. viii. 7); (*c*) for יָמִים וְשָׁנִים, days and years, *i.e.* for the demarcation of the length of the days and of the lunar and solar years. The months are included in the שנים; but the week, as a unit of time not measured by either sun or moon, is left out of consideration. שָׁנָה, אֲשַׁ, Assyr. *šattu* (from *ṣantu*), seems to mean change or vicissitude, the ש of שנה, to fold, to be double (whence the name of the number two), having a different phonetic value (Aram. ת, Arab. ث) from the ש of שנה, a year (Aram. שׁ, Arab. س). After the twofold special purpose now follows (*B*) the general one, ver. 15: *And let them be for lights in the firmament of heaven, to give light upon the earth: and it was so.* The lights (light-bodies) are to become lights (light-sources) to give light upon and for the earth. Wisdom then carries out what omnipotence called into being, ver. 16: *And Elohim made the two great lights; the great light for the ruling of the day, and the small light for the ruling of the night: and the stars.* Both lights are great in respect of the amount of light proceeding from them to the earth, but of different magnitude among themselves. The greater light is appointed for the ruling of the day, the less for the ruling of the night. Mythology makes Samaš and Sin gods and kings, the lights of heaven, *πρυτάνεις κόσμου Θεοί* (Wisd. xiii. 2); but here מֶמְשָׁלָה is a designation of the predominant agency of the two lights of heaven which gives but a distant reminiscence of this personification and deification,—heathen myths are in the mind and speech of revealed religion reduced to rhetorical metaphors and poetic images. The sun, שֶׁמֶשׁ, and moon, יָרֵחַ, are left unnamed, the narrator

designating by describing them. And it is intentionally that he does not say that God gave them names. The Semitic names of the sun and moon are of so accidental a nature, that the reference of them to Divine appellation is deliberately omitted. The giving of names by God is restricted to day, night, heaven, earth, sea, to which is only added as a sixth, v. 2, the name of man (אדם). The creation of the stars is despatched in two words: וְאֵת הַכּוֹכָבִים. The name designates the stars as round bodies, for כּוֹכָב is softened from כַּבְכַּב (from כבב, to be rolled, to be round), just as *rabrab*, Syr., becomes *raurab*. The narrative intends the starry heavens of this earthly world, in which the sun and moon appear as great lights. The formation of the heavenly lights is followed by their local establishment with a recapitulation of their destination, vv. 17, 18: *And Elohim placed them in the firmament of heaven, to give light upon the earth, and to rule the day and the night, and to divide between the light and the darkness: and Elohim saw that it was good.* The verb נתן combines the notions of *θεῖναι* and *δοῦναι*, like the נָתַתָּ concealed in תנה, Ps. viii. 2. Light and darkness here stand for day and night, 14*a*, and the destination, to be for signs and measures of time, which there follows, 14*b*, is unmentioned. The Divine טוב acknowledges the work of the fourth day to be completed, and an evening and morning now produced by sun and moon closes it, ver. 19: *And it was evening, and was morning—a fourth day.*

The Fifth Day of Creation, i. 20–23.

The time of all earthly occurrences being determined by the creation of the stars, and the regularity of light, that fundamental condition of all earthly life, secured, the first self-moving animated beings are now called into existence. The work of the second day had separated the waters below from the waters above by means of the atmosphere, that of the fifth peoples both the waters and the air with beings moving freely in them, ver. 20: *And Elohim*

said, Let the waters swarm forth a swarm of living souls, and let fowl fly upon the earth on the face of the firmament of heaven. The component matter of the birds is left undefined,[1] that of the water animals also not being distinctly stated. For שָׁרַץ with the accus. (like *βρύειν*, Jas. iii. 11, with the intransitive *βρύειν τινί* or *τινός*) does not necessarily mean: to bring forth out of itself in a swarming mass, but like Ex. vii. 28 (Jahv.), Ps. cv. 30: to bring to light in a swarming mass. Meanwhile the narrative places the water animals and birds even at their origin in a relation to their elements water and air which limits their condition. The LXX. translates שֶׁרֶץ נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, *ἑρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν*; but שֶׁרֶץ does not mean merely creeping animals, but, without respect to magnitude (see ver. 21), swarming, *i.e.* numerous, animals actively moving about among each other. On the other hand it is correct that נפש חיה is not in apposition to שרץ (Dillm. according to the supposed requirement of the acc.), but is governed by it in the genitive. Plants are not, according to Scripture, without life (Job xiv. 8, 9; Ps. lxxviii. 47; Isa. xiv. 3; Jude 12, comp. Ps. lviii. 10), but animals of even the lower classes which now come into existence are *ψυχαὶ ζῶσαι*, *i.e.* beings who are indeed material (for נפש is always רוח, combined with matter), but who have the life centre of a soul or conscious self-hood. חַיָּה in this connection is not a governed genitive (for *ψυχὴ ζωῆς* is a really inadmissible expression, see on ii. 7), but a descriptive epithet: soul which lives and animates, viz. bodies, and "living souls," stands synecdochically for animated material beings, bodies having souls. פְּנֵי of the firmament of heaven is its side turned towards earth (comp. Isa. xxv. 7). The double command of the Creator is fulfilled as stated, ver. 21: *And Elohim created great whales, and all kind of souls, the living and moving, which the waters swarmed forth after their*

[1] Not indeed according to the Vulgate, *et volatile super terram sub firmamento cœli*, the influence of which upon the ecclesiastical observance of fasts produced abundant results; see Zöckler's *Gesch. der Beziehungen zwischen Theologie und Naturwissenschaft*, i. 174, etc., ii. 133, etc.

kind (the kind of these beings), *and all winged fowls after their kind: and Elohim saw that it was good.* The great Cetaceæ and Saurians, which from their long stretched-out shape are called (√ תן) תַּנִּינִים, are mentioned in the first place only by way of example. Both נפש and עוף are without an article. הַכֹּל means all together, כל, all and each, את כל, absolute (ix. 3), or with a following indeterminate genitive (viii. 21; Deut. ii. 34; Eccles. xii. 14): all of every kind, all without exception. The definition should begin with הרמשת; but a beginning is already made with החיה, *πᾶσαν ψυχὴν τὴν ζῶσαν*, for החיה is here, as always in this connection, not a substantive (= הַחַיִּים, as in Elihu and Ezekiel), but an adjective, and accented accordingly. לְמִינֵהֶם (defectively written like חֶלְבֵּהֶן, iv. 4) is the only plural of מִין that occurs in the Old Testament. כָּנָף too, which might be a substantive, is according to vii. 14 intended as an adj., LXX. *πᾶν πετεινὸν πτερωτόν*. As yet God has spoken to no creature; but now that animated, *i.e.* conscious (though not as yet self-conscious, fully conscious), life has begun, He begins to bless, ver. 22: *And Elohim blessed them, saying: Be fruitful, and increase, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl increase upon earth.* According to the usual view, "blessing" is a notion developed from the fundamental notion of kneeling, and indeed of kneeling in prayer. According however to the Arabic custom of speech, the verb برك has the fundamental meaning "to extend," whence *birka*, בְּרֵכָה, pond, from the mass of water extending in breadth, and especially to lie down, so that the knees or breast lie upon the ground; the knees are called בִּרְכַּיִם, as the limbs which more especially participate in this action. Hence too בְּרָכָה, abundance of goods, Arab. especially abundance of fruits, a plentiful harvest, and בָּרַךְ, to bless, is equivalent to, to cause extension, increase, prosperity by word and deed. Fr. Delitzsch obtains the meaning to bless by another path: Assyr. *barâku* means to step (syn. *aśâru*), Pi. *burrûku* = בֵּרַךְ, to cause to step, to bring onwards, to make prosperous. The knee is then called *birku* as the means of advancing, and

the blessing בְּרָכָה as a prosperous advance (Prolegomena, p. 46); the admission however of the pond, בְּרֵכָה, in this tissue of notions, is a difficulty. Here where God blesses, or better perhaps, pronounces a blessing (*benedicit*), the wishing word is at the same time the imparting deed, the bestowal of generative power. The pair of words פרה ורבה is characteristic of the Elohistic sections; יִרְבּ is the jussive of Kal. The fifth day closes with the Divine blessing, ver. 23: *And it was evening, and was morning—a fifth day.* The number is written in full, חֲמִישִׁי; the Dagesh does not appear till the form increases, though not then without exception; for we find חֲמִשָּׁה and חֲמִשִּׁים, חֲמִישִׁית and חֲמִשִּׁית; still *quintus* is throughout חֲמִישִׁי.

The Sixth Day of Creation, i. 24–31.

The sixth day's work, like that of the third, consists of two creative acts, the land which appeared on the third day being now peopled with land animals and men. The work of the six days kept man in view. The animals were created in increasing approximation to him, and now, ver. 24, the land animals, which most nearly approach him, are created: *And Elohim said: Let the earth bring forth living souls after their kind* (that of these living beings), *cattle, and creeping animals and the wild beast of the earth after its kind* (that of these wild beasts and of these animals in general): *and it was so.* The land animals are divided into three classes: 1. בְּהֵמָה (from בָּהַם, to be dumb, dull, heavy), here as elsewhere (though not exclusively) the name of four-footed domestic animals. 2. רֶמֶשׂ (from רמשׂ, to move, to swarm, a synonym of שרץ), in this connection: the smaller creeping animals, which keep closer to the ground. 3. חַיְתוֹ־אֶרֶץ, the wild beast of the earth, which, as representing the most active kind of animal life, is called חַיָּה κατ' ἐξ.; the connective form is in ver. 25 given in the narrative tone as חַיַּת; but here in the divine fiat the more ancient and therefore more solemn חַיְתוֹ is used, as in Ps. lxxix. 2, l. 10, Zeph. ii. 14, and frequently, the second word being always without the

article (because the oldest form of the language had no article); the final ו is certainly not the ancient termination of the accusative (*o* obscured from *a*), but the nominative (*u* enhanced to *o*), Ges. § 90. 3 (comp. the forms, Num. xxiv. 3, 15, Ps. cxiv. 8, with the same case-vowel faded into a connective sound). The creative word which calls into being the three kinds of animals is addressed to the earth: *producat terra.* Their genesis takes place with the maternal participation as it were of the earth, hence their bodily nature is, as compared with that of fishes and birds, pre-eminently earthy. While the creative word goes forth, what it declares is realized by the Creator, ver. 25: *And Elohim made the wild beast of the earth after its kind, and cattle after its kind, and all creeping animals of the ground after their kind: and Elohim saw that it* (*was*) *good.* וַיַּעַשׂ is here used (as vv. 7, 16) instead of ויברא, ver. 21; the latter means to bring forth by creating; the former, to carry into execution. The succession of the three classes is here different from that in the former verse; there the advance was from the nearer to the more distant; here, from the greater to the less. The creeping animals are here called more definitely רמש הָאֲדָמָה, the addition האדמה not merely colouring but defining (comp. ver. 21; Lev. xi. 46; Ps. lxix. 35); an echo is found Hos. ii. 20. The earth is called ארץ, as a solid body, and especially as the solid ground under our feet; אדמה is the earthy covering, especially the mould or *humus*, which covers the body of the earth as the skin does man. We are not specially told that God blessed the land animals. This is understood from ver. 22. The intentionally only threefold ויברך (vv. 22, 28, ii. 3) sheds its light on all sides, while here the narrator hastens past the blessing of the land animals to the creation of man.

The creation of man forms the second half of the sixth day's work. He is made last of all the creatures of the six days as the noblest, but also as the most needy of all; for he is in need of all the creatures that precede him, without their being in need of him. Man does not come into being by a *fiat* addressed

to the earth. A solemn declaration of the Divine will here answers to the creative Let there be: ver. 26, *And Elohim said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them subject to themselves the fish of the sea, and the birds of heaven, and the cattle, and the whole earth, and every creeping thing moving upon the earth.* The indicative form נַעֲשֶׂה has a cohortatory meaning; the intentional *ah* of the cohortative only occurs once in the *Kal* of a verb לָהּ, Ps. cxix. 117 (but comp. also lxxvii. 4), and once in the *Hithpael*, Isa. xli. 23. But how are we to understand this plural *faciamus?* It is not a self-objectivizing plural (Hitzig on Isa. vi. 8), for there is no example of a speaker speaking of himself in the plural, while his ego is addressing his words to himself as object. On the other hand the so-called *plur. majestatis* is by no means unusual in the East (*DMZ.* xxii. 109). He who speaks in the plural of greatness proper, appears to himself (without being comprised with others) to be of the value of many. In this sense God frequently speaks of Himself in the Koran (*e.g.* 88. 25 sq.) as We. But such a plural cannot be shown in Holy Scripture where God is speaking of Himself. Where it seems to be found, we have to admit that God the Father is comprising Himself either with the Son and the Spirit or with the celestial spirits. Scripture itself confirms the latter, for from beginning to end it testifies that God communicates to the spirits who surround Him what He purposes to do upon earth, 1 Kings xxii. 19–22; Job i.; Dan. vii. 10; Luke ii. 9 sqq.; Rev. iv. sq., with Ps. lxxxix. 8 and Dan. iv. 14, where compare the Chaldee representation of the עירין, *ἐγρήγοροι*, as *Θεοὶ βουλαῖοι* (Diodor. ii. 30). It is in this communicative sense that נעשׂה is intended. Just as Jahveh comprises Himself with the true Israel, Isa. xli. 21 sq., so does He with the seraphim, Isa. vi. 8, and here, as also iii. 22 and xi. 7, with the heavenly spirits in general. This is the explanation of the Midrash (*Pesikta de Rab Cahana*, ed. Buber, 34*a*; comp. Targ. Jer.), and in accordance with this of Philo (i. 556, ed. Mangey): *διαλέγεται ὁ τῶν ὅλων πατὴρ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν.* Elohim

no more concedes thereby a share in creation itself to the B^{e}ne Haelohim than He does in sending (Isa. vi. 8); but He does give them an interest therein as to their knowledge and will. The communicative speaker ever remains, in relation to those whom he thus comprises with Himself, the Higher. But He imparts to them and gives them an interest in the matter in hand. It is in accordance with this that we must understand "in our image and in our likeness" as including the angels. According to Scripture, the angels form together with God one family, and man, being made in God's image, is for this very reason made also in the image of angels (*βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους*, according to Ps. viii. 6, LXX.), though this is not directly stated, and is therefore denied by Keerl as well as by most ancient teachers (*DMZ.* xxiv. 283 sq.). We do not question that כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ is a more particular nearer definition of בְּצַלְמֵנוּ (Frank, *System der chr. Wahrheit*, i. 348); the LXX. arbitrarily inserts a too sharply separating *καί*: *κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν*. But it is not a secondary, "an adverbial" determinative (Wendt, *Vollkommenheit*, p. 200), for then the exchange of the words (ver. 3) would not be admissible. The noun צֶלֶם (from צלם = صرم, to cut, to cut away [1]) means the image, and דְּמוּת = *die Gleiche* — a good German substantive, mid. high. Germ. *geliche*, which we prefer to the too abstract sounding *Gleichheit* or *Aehnlichkeit* (likeness); both words admit of a twofold use, and are then thus distinguished, צלם meaning original image or imitation; דמות, model or copy. The idea of צלם is more rigid, that of דמות more fluctuating, and so to speak more spiritual; in the former the notion of the original image, in the latter that of the ideal predominates. It is in accordance with this that the prefixes ב and כ are used, although they

[1] Friedr. Delitzsch thinks otherwise, *Proleg.* 141, from צלם = ظلم, to be dark (whence צַלְמָוֶת); but it is difficult thence to arrive at the idea shadow-image (something like *adumbratio*).

might be exchanged (comp. Lev. v. 25 with xxvii. 12; 2 Chron. xxxi. 17 with 16). With ב the original form is thought of as though it were a form for casting, in כ as a model set before one (comp. on the other hand v. 3). Hence the Greek and many of the Latin Fathers started from at least a correct feeling when they referred the *κατ' εἰκόνα* of the LXX. to the physical, and *καθ' ὁμοίωσιν* to the ethic side of the *imago divina*, though there is no linguistic necessity for this distinction. The narrative does not expressly state wherein the Divine likeness consisted, for the *dominium terræ* promised to man, 26*b*, is not, as the Socinians think, its content but its consequence, or as Frank thinks it better to express it (*ib.* i. p. 349), not its nature, but the manifestation of that nature. Nevertheless it results as a retrospective inference from this sovereignty (Ps. viii. 6*b*), that the Divine image in man consists in his being a creature who has mastery over himself (self-conscious and self-determining), and therefore exalted above all other earthly creatures. Because אדם is used of man in a sense which includes the species, the sentence goes on in the plural: and let them subject (רָדָה, *subigere*, with ב of the object as usual in verbs of ruling). חַיַּת seems to have fallen out between ובכל and הארץ; for if the sentence had concluded with ובכל הארץ, we should have had a significant *climax ascendens*, while now the enumeration of the kinds of animals is continued contrary to expectation. The deficiency must however be an old one, for the LXX. has *καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς* both at 26*b* and at ver. 28, which it enlarges from 26*b* (comp. Jas. iii. 7, where only four kinds of animals are enumerated, and not five, as would be the case if חית had stood here); the Syriac alone among ancient versions inserts חית. Next follows the carrying into execution of the resolution formed in the Divine counsel, ver. 27: *And Elohim created man in His own image: in the image of Elohim He created him; male and female He created them.* We experience a trembling joy at these words; the three propositions are like a tripudium,

i.e. a dance of victory of three measures. What is related in more detail in the Jahvistic narrative is here comprised in a few winged words: God created man, and that with difference of sexes. The notion of the pair predominates in איש ואשה, that of sexual distinction in זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה (LXX. ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, Lith.: *ein Menlin vnd Frewlin*), stem-words זכר ✓ זכ, *infigere*, and נקב ✓ קב, *excavare*. The origin of man, though not brought to pass by a creative fiat, is nevertheless called a creation, ברא, and may be also so called in respect of ii. 7. For the essential characteristic of creation is not the exclusion of existing material, but the achievement, and indeed the miraculous achievement, of something hitherto non-existent; for to appoint that anything shall henceforth exist according to law is a miracle. The narrator now the more opportunely reiterates, that man was made in the image of God. He has now reached the point towards which he was steering. What follows concerning the Divine blessing announces also an exalted frame of mind, ver. 28: *And Elohim blessed them: and Elohim said to them: Be fruitful, and increase, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and subject to yourselves the fish of the sea, and the birds of heaven, and every beast that moves upon the earth.* The brief לאמר at the blessing of the animals, ver. 22, is here, in the effort for poetical parallelism, extended to ויאמר להם אלהים. The authorization and vocation to dominion over the earth employs such strong expressions as כבש, *proculcare*, and רדה, *subigere*, because this dominion requires the energy of strength and the art of wisdom. We have translated חיה by *Getier* (= all beasts), because the word has here a wider meaning than at ver. 24 sq. The tenth ויאמר of the narrative points out to man and beast their means of nourishment in vv. 29, 30: *And Elohim said: Behold, I give you every seed-yielding herb upon the face of the whole earth, and all trees in which are seed-yielding fruits; let it serve you for food. And to every beast of the earth, and to all the birds of heaven, and to all that moveth upon the earth, in which is living soul,* (have I given) *every green herb for food: and it was so.* The perfect

נתתי is usual in agreements, grants of authority, engagements, givings of names (xli. 45) (Ges. § 126. 4). On את־כל with an indeterminate noun (all and each of the after-named kind), see on ver. 21. זֶרַע followed by זֶרַע here means, in distinction from מזריע, ver. 11 sq., seed-yielding or containing. In ver. 30 we must supply נָתַתִּי before את־כל־יֶרֶק עשב, *omnem virorem herbæ* (recurring ix. 3; comp. Ex. x. 15; Isa. xv. 6); it was absent also from the Hebrew text of the LXX. The latter agrees with the Masoretic text in also making ver. 30 conclude with *καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως*. This ויהי־כן declares, that the will of God which directed man as well as beast to vegetable diet was also carried into effect. There was only an unimportant difference between the food of both, herbs only being allotted to beasts, but to man fruit trees as well, the inexhaustible nature of such food being indicated by זֶרַע זרע. The announcement of the will of God is but cursorily sketched. בהמה is included in חית הארץ; certain articles of food, such as milk and honey, are left out of consideration, without being said to be forbidden. The main point is not what is expressed, but its reverse; for the direction to vegetable diet means the restriction to this, to the exclusion of the flesh of animals. It was not till after the Flood that man was authorized to kill animals for his food, ix. 3. The creation of God was designed for propagation, not for destruction. The subsequent order of the world is not the original; at the beginning peace prevailed between man and the beasts, and among the beasts towards each other. Ewald and Dillmann rightly see in the ויהי־כן an indication that in the beginning of the world's history a Paradisaic peace prevailed, and find that *A* (*Q*) and *C* (*J*) are agreed on this matter. Outside of Israel too the tradition is widely spread, that men and animals were originally satisfied with vegetable food; it is not merely a notion of Pythagoras. Such prophecies also as Isa. xi. 6–9, lxv. 25, Hos. ii. 20, presuppose it, for they promise the restoration of this *aurea ætas*. We cannot admit that this Paradisaic peaceful commencement of

life is but a pleasant dream, a shadowy picture of the imagination, if it were only for the fact that there is more wisdom in the traditions of nations than in the views of individuals. The objection, that the teeth and intestines of men, as well as of many beasts, are adapted for both animal and vegetable diet, does not perplex us,—the whole of the six days' creation is, so to speak, supralapsarian, *i.e.* so constituted that the consequences of the foreseen fall of man were taken into account, and that there should be no need of remodelling of creation. That man can live and thrive without animal food is a fact confirmed by experience, and there are nations who live almost entirely on vegetable food and the milk of their flocks, very rarely eating flesh, *e.g.* the nomadic Arabs and the Indians, who are nevertheless very fine and intelligent races. Nor does the reference to the animals of the primæval world, among whom devouring each other was already customary, seem to us any counter-proof. For such animals belong to the time prior to the world of man, while the peace, which restriction to vegetable diet would secure, refers only to the animal world contemporary with man, and appointed to live along with him. It is indeed true that, if we would enforce the thesis, that the killing of one living creature by another was not the direct will of God for the universe down to the world of the infusoria, we shall encounter insuperable difficulties. But the scriptural narrative concerning the first beginning requires no such far and deep reaching consequences. For why then is it silent concerning the animals of the waters? The dominion over the בדגת הים also was indeed allotted to man, ver. 28, but in ver. 29 sq. the fish are purposely left out of consideration. Men and animals are here in question only so far as they associate together; it is only in this department that the Divine will, which excludes killing for the purpose of food, attains legislative expression. The inference, that it was not then also a law and appointment of nature, that apart from men and those animals who formed their nearest surrounding, the life of one creature might be preserved by the killing of

another, would be unjustifiable. All living creatures within this earthly world exist in a state of constant war. It is in the nature of certain animals to torture their prey with refinement of cruelty. And it seems as if it ought to be and must be thus, that as a limit is set to the encroachments of the vegetable world by means of the frugivorous animals, so the immoderate increase of the latter is prevented by the beasts of prey, while these are in their turn kept under by the weapons of man. From the sanction however of the peace implied in ver. 29, we may conclude that the present world, subjected as it is to *ματαιότης* and *δουλεία τῆς φθορᾶς* (Rom. viii. 18–26), is not that absolutely best world, that adequate exponent of the holy love which is God's nature, but only the preliminary stage of a glorified world, in which love will bear sole sway, and death in every form be cast out. The word of God, which made peace the fundamental law for mankind, and for the animals most nearly approximating him, was now followed by the close of the Hexaëmeron, ver. 31: *And Elohim saw all that He had made, and, behold, it was very good. And it was evening, and was morning—the sixth day.* The Creator surveys all that He has brought to pass, and finds it very good. The result is introduced by הִנֵּה. Each single item is טוֹב, if not in itself alone, yet in its relative adaptation to the whole; but this whole, in which are harmoniously comprised all the single suitable items, is טוֹב מְאֹד. The adverbially used מְאֹד means mightiness, and the fundamental idea is either weight (from אוּד, to burden) or extension, as it seems to be according to the Assyrian, from מאד, *ma'âdu*, to be much (√ מד, to extend, to stretch).[1] Prominence is given to the sixth, as the concluding day of creation, by the article: a day, viz. the sixth. That the connection of the words is not intended to be a genitive one

[1] In the Thorah of R. Meir it is pessimistically said, after *Bereshith rabba*. ch. 9, והנה טוב מות, by which is meant certainly not the roll of the Thorah, but the reading of the Thorah of this R. Meir; see Rosenfeld's מישפחת סופרים (Wilna 1883), p. 59.

is seen *e.g.* from Jer. xxxviii. 14, מָבוֹא הַשְּׁלִישִׁי, entrance (to the temple), viz. the third. That this connection of the determinate adjective with an indeterminate substantive (like *e.g.* xli. 26) is no sign of a later period of the language, has been shown by Driver (*Journal of Philology*, vol. ix. 1883, p. 229). בַּיּוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי with the preposition is constantly found, *e.g.* Ex. xvi. 5, xxii. 29; but Neh. viii. 18, Dan. x. 12, are the first examples of הַיּוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי, so that the statistical discovery rather proves the contrary of what Giesebrecht tries to prove.

The Sabbath of Creation, ii. 1–3.

If the days of creation are regarded as the periods *inter duos occasus*, the Sabbath of creation begins with the evening, *i.e.* late in the evening of the sixth day. Then however we have the incongruous result, that evening being the beginning of rest, is also the beginning of work. The matter is rather as follows: the days of creation consisted of a morning half and an evening half, the morning reaching its climax at noon, and the evening its lowest point at midnight, and this whole day is reckoned a work-day. For if it is the meaning of the narrative, that the Creator rested at the beginning of each evening, we should then have seven Sabbaths instead of one. This is what we do find in the Avesta, which is here evidently under Semitic influence (*DMZ.* xxvi. 719 sq.; comp. xxxv. 642 sqq.). Ahuramazda, in conjunction with the Amschaspands, creates heaven, the water, the earth, trees, animals, men, in six periods, each containing an unequal number of days, each period being followed by a festival of rest on his part (Burnouf, *Yaçna*, pp. 294–334). The Scripture narrative however knows nothing of six Sabbaths and a final Sabbath, but of one only, which began when the sixth day, with its morning and evening halves, was over, and the morning of the seventh day was beginning. Having arrived thus far, the form of the narrative becomes imitative of the now approaching rest; the hitherto more rapid flow of speech

seems restrained, and extends itself tautologically in breadth. As Meinecke, *Fragmenta choliambica*, p. 90, says of Babrios, when the latter is describing the luxurious living of the Assyrian ruler: *non sine artis laude numeros argumento carminis attemperavit*, so is it due to the art of the narrator, that his language, in describing the seventh day, gets slow and dragging. He begins with a summary, ii. 1: *And the heaven and the earth, and all their host, were finished.* The LXX. rightly translates *συνετελέσθησαν*, heaven and earth were finished in the manner described; comp. Ex. xxxix. 32, וַתֵּכֶל, it (the work of the tabernacle) was finished,—heaven and earth, and the totality of the beings that filled them. צְבָא (from צבא, *prodire*, ✓ צב, to swell, to press upwards and outwards; Arab. of the appearance of a claw, a tooth, a star), elsewhere the host of heaven, is here to be referred zeugmatically (comp. on the other hand, Neh. ix. 6) to the creatures of earth (*per zeugma* we say, because elsewhere, when צבא is used of earthly beings, it means only a multitude of men, *e.g.* Isa. xxxiv. 2). The corresponding Assyrian formula is *kiššat* (from כנש) *šamê û irṣitim*, totality of heaven and earth (see the hymn to Merodach III., R. 29, No. 1), Sumerian *ankišarrâna*, troop of heaven of earth (Fr. Delitzsch in Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, i. p. 76). Now follows the fact meant in וַיְכַל, which looks both backwards and forwards, the fact by which God impressed upon the now finished earth the seal of completion, ver. 2: *And Elohim finished on the seventh day His work which He had made; and He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had made.* The וַיְכַל, on the seventh day, appeared so incomprehensible to ancient translators, LXX. Samar. Syr. Book of Jubilees, that they preferred to read ביום הששי; Budde (*Urgesch.* p. 490) as well as Olshausen regards השביעי as an error of transcription. But the Targums give back השביעי, and the Talmudic scholars know how to manage with it. Indeed with a good will there needs but little penetration to recognise the legitimacy and the sense of *Complevitque Deus die septimo opus suum* (Jerome). The meaning is not that on the seventh day God continued and ended His

as yet uncompleted work, but that He made an end (כִּלָּה, like Ex. xli. 33; 1 Sam. x. 13; comp. 2 Sam. vi. 18) of the work, because it was now finished, not continuing it at the beginning of the seventh day, but ceasing from further work, and resting.[1] When the name "work" is given to God's six days' creation, human work is ennobled to the highest conceivable degree, as being the copy of this model. The verb לאך means in Arab. and Ethiop. to send: hence מְלָאכָה (out of מַלְאָכָה) means a sending (a mission); thus it means the direction of the business given one, or which one gives himself, therefore the work of one's calling. Creation is the execution of a task which God set Himself, an achievement in which His Word and His Spirit participate, and on which all the powers of His Being are engaged. The rest of God, after His work is completed, is here expressed by וַיִּשְׁבֹּת, Ex. xx. 11 by וַיָּנַח, Ex. xxxi. 17 by שָׁבַת וַיִּנָּפַשׁ. שבת (Assyr. *šabâtu*, Symm. *gamâru*, גמר) is the most unambiguous word, the other two on the contrary have an anthropopathic sound. In no case must the rest of the Creator be understood as the result of fatigue (see on the contrary, Isa. xl. 28); it was the consequence of the now perfect and harmonious whole, combined with the satisfaction and joy (Ps. liv. 31) which this whole, as טוב מאד, afforded Him. He now rested, not with the intent of henceforth withdrawing from the world,—He was indeed from that time onwards the governor of the world and the director of its history,—but He rested as Creator; His creative agency was now concluded, His rest belongs to that order of the world which is binding upon the creatures, ver. 3: *And Elohim blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it; for on it He rested from all His work which He had creatively effected.* Undoubtedly לַעֲשׂוֹת refers back to מלאכתו, to which ב־א could not be directly referred; the combination of the finite with the infinite must be explained according to the Schema, הגדיל לעשות, Joel ii. 20 (Ew. § 285*a*). This explanation being simple and in con-

[1] The Arabians also explain سبت etymologically by: he cut (قطع) the thing, he put an end to work (*DMZ.* xxxix. 585).

formity with the style, is preferable to Knobel's: which He being active created, or our former one: which He performing created. In both cases *quod* (*opus*) is combined with *creaverat* and not with *faciendo;* it is nevertheless the most obvious to combine it with *faciendo*, like עשה מלאכה: *quod* (*opus*) *faciendo creaverat.* However it may be explained, the inf. with ל has in any case the sense of *faciendo*, like Eccles. ii. 11; comp. Judg. ix. 56; 2 Kings xix. 11; Ps. ciii. 20. The blessing and hallowing is not meant as pointing onwards from the standpoint of the Mosaic legislation,—in this respect God subsequently hallowed the Sabbath at the departure from Egypt,—but is a fact following upon the conclusion of creation, and having in view the history of the world, which, now that its creation is completed, is about to begin. On בֵּרַךְ, see on i. 22; קִדֵּשׁ means the quality of appropriating the קָדוֹשׁ, but קדוש (√ קד, to cleave, to divide), used of God, designates Him as a Being separated from the finite sinful world and exalted above it, and used of men and things, it designates them as separated from the worldly and the common (חל), and raised above them.[1] The divine blessing endowed the seventh day with a treasure of grace flowing forth from the rest of the Creator, which is opened for those who keep it, and the divine hallowing removed it from among the week days and invested it with a special and distinguishing consecration, both retrospectively and prospectively, because on it He שָׁבַת, *requievit* or *requieverat, i.e.* entered into rest. Hence the Sabbath, personally conceived of, is called, Isa. lviii. 13, קְדוֹשׁ ה׳. The narrative points in וישבת and שבת to שַׁבָּת as the name of the day of rest following the six days. The old view, that שַׁבָּת is contracted from שַׁבְעַת (*e.g.* Lactant. *Inst.* vii. 14), must be, if only on this account, rejected, nor is there any need for it in explaining the use of שַׁבָּת for שָׁבוּעַ, week (comp. Lev. xxiii. 15 with Deut. xvi. 9), "seventh day" standing

[1] The adj. *ḳuddušu* is in Assyrian (comp. Isa. x. 17) one of the synonyms which denote brilliant unobscured light; see Zimmern, *Babyl. Busspsalmen* (1885), p. 37 sq.

per synecdochen partis pro toto for seven days, *hebdomas.* שַׁבָּת however is not formed from שבת, after the formation קָטֶל, for the name of the Sabbath is with rare exceptions (Isa. lvi. 2, 6, comp. lviii. 13) feminine, and the Kametz is so mutable as to get evaporated into Sheva (*e.g.* שַׁבְּתוֹת, שַׁבְּתֹתַי). It is contracted from שַׁבֶּתֶת, as מִשְׁרַת, 1 Kings i. 15, is from מִשְׁרֶתֶת, and מָשְׁחַת, Mal. i. 14, from מָשְׁחֶתֶת, and means either "rest time," with a glance at עֵת, or "rest" (*Feier*) as a self-contained notion (comp. *feriæ, festum,* and *dies festus*). The latter is preferable, as Lotz, *De historia Sabbati,* pp. 5–8, has shown. שַׁבָּת is of similar formation with שָׁרֵטַ, חָטָאת, בַּלָּהָה, and means, like the Assyr. *šabbattu,* rest or repose. It is thus that the feminine gender must be explained, which (though as in the case of אוֹת it here and there afterwards vanished from the usage of the language) so far predominates, that the Sabbath is liturgically personified as queen and bride, and even as a goddess, under the Ethiopic name *Sanbat* among the Falashas. Thus also is to be explained the thoroughly mutable Kametz because lengthened from Pathach, and the various use of the word, which presupposes the general notion of a holiday. The name of the planet Saturn, שַׁבְּתַי, which does not occur earlier than in the Pharisaico-astrological technical language, in Epiphanius in Book i. against heresies (*Opp.* i. p. 24, ed. Petav.), does not mean the destructive (from שָׁבַת=הִשְׁבִּית), or the pausing (*DMZ.* xl. 202), but in accordance with its form the Sabbatic, and is in this sense a favourite Jewish proper name already occurring in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (Gr. Σαββαταῖος, Σαββάτις, Σαββάτιος), like the proper names *Jomtob* (Feast-day), Νουμήνιος, *Paschalis, Sonntag, Freitag,* etc. The day first gave its name to the planet, and the name of the planet was then subsequently transferred to the day (Tibull. i. 3, 18, *Saturni sacra dies,* Eng. Saturday). The custom of naming the seven days of the week after the seven planets is an ancient Babylonian one (Schrader in *Studien und Kritiken,* 1873, pp. 343–353; and Lotz, *De historia Sabbati,* 1883), and a syllabus (ii. R. 32, 16 *a b*) which treats of

divisions of time, explains *ša-bat-tu* by *úmu nûḫ libbi*, hence the Sabbath is also in Babylonio-Assyrian expression a day of delightful and festal repose. At the end of the account of the closing day of creation we find no "there was morning and there was evening," for the Divine Sabbath has an infinite perspective: it terminates the creation of the world, and after becoming at the close of the world's history the Sabbath of the creature, will last for ever and ever. *Le Sabbat de Dieu n'est plus un jour, une periode, mais un fait* (Théophile Rivier in *Le Recit Biblique de la Creation*, 1873).

II. 4. The endorsement of the Elohistic account of the creation is here given in such terms as to form at the same time the transition to the Jahvistic: *These are the generations of the heaven and of the earth when they were created, on the day that Jahveh Elohim made heaven and earth.* It is a question whether this verse is the subscription to what precedes or the superscription of the section following. Luzzatto and Reggio (as already Raschi), Ewald, Knobel, Stähelin, Hoelemann, Dillmann regard it as the former; Hengstenberg, Baumgarten, Kurtz, Hofmann, Keil, as the latter. The chief ground for viewing it as a superscription is, that אֵלֶּה תוֹלְדוֹת cannot mean: this is (was) the origin of the heaven and the earth,[1] for the plural תולדות (of the sing. תּוֹלֶדֶת or תּוֹלֵדָה, occurring only in post-Biblical Hebrew, Assyr. *tâlidtu*), which comes from ילד in its Hiphil signification, does not mean *γένεσις* (as might be thought from a mistaken inference from Matt. i. 1), but as Gr. Ven. translates it, *γεννήσεις*. The word appears only in the *stat. constr.* or with a *suffix*, and the genitive is always the *gen. subjecti* not *objecti*, which always denotes the given beginning, and תוֹלְדוֹת the genealogical, and hence also more generally the historical progress of this beginning (comp. Syr. ܝܠܕ, ܝܠܦ, genealogy, history).[2] As in the title of the Jewish crime-

[1] Whether אֵלֶּה is in this formula subject or predicate is a nice question; according to Arabic syntax it would be subject.

[2] Such it is also *e.g.* in the inference drawn in the Midrash from Gen. vi. 9:

book, ישו תולדות ס', the word is generalized to the inclusion of the history, so too must the אלה תולדות following the Sabbath of creation signify the further history of the heaven and the earth, which is concentrated in man who is at once earthly and heavenly. But the theological notion that the history of man is the history of the world of the Hexaëmeron cannot be expected from the child-like simplicity of this primæval historical narrative. It is also at variance with the understanding of the בְּהִבָּרְאָם (with *He minusculum*) as part of the title, whereby, as Hoelem. remarks, the said תולדות are encircled in the course of creation (comp. Num. iii. 1). On the other side the declaration: these are the generations, productions of the heaven and the earth, has its difficulties. "Heaven and earth," says Lagarde (*Orientalia*, ii. 39), "have according to the Hebrew notion nothing to generate; they certainly have not at the beginning of Genesis, where the chief matter is to represent Jahveh as the cause and Lord of the world." Hence he thinks that another form of the word, signifying the birth and process of being born, must be substituted for תולדות. Certainly wherever else creation is conceived of as a generation, as *e.g.* Ps. xc. 2, God is Himself the generator (without any further following up of the notion, as in the Semitic heathen cosmogonies, which start from a male and a female principle). The fact however that the pure idea of creation does not exclude the conception of heaven and earth as generating or producing may be inferred from *Joma* 54*b*: תולדות השמים משמים נבראו תולדות הארץ מארץ נבראו, "the productions of the heavens are made of heavenly material, those of the earth of earthly material." Hence, regarding אֵלֶּה as pointing backwards (as at x. 5, xx. 31 sq., xxxv. 26, xxxvi. 19), we explain the sentence: these are the generations of the heaven and of the earth, *i.e.* the productions wherewith in the day, *i.e.* in the period of creation, they, with their own participation, were

"the תולדות of man (*i.e.* that wherein he goes on living) are his good works." Instead of תולדותיו (*Tanchuma*, comp. Rashi on Gen. vi. 9), *Bereshith Rabba* has פירותיו (his fruits).

gradually peopled. Whether ii. 4*a* originally stood before בראשית, i. 1, and was transferred to its present position by the redactor[1] as a boundary mark between the Elohistic and Jahvistic narratives, or whether the author himself, for the sake of making his historical work begin with בראשית, placed here the אלה תולדות, which he elsewhere puts in the first place, cannot be ascertained. Nor is it easier to discover what share *Q* or *J* may have had in the form of ii. 4*b*. For as this half verse reads, it is a link connecting the two narratives and leading from one to the other. In the transposition ארץ ושמים (occurring only again Ps. cxlviii. 13) the endorsement likewise points onwards. The earth stands first, because the narrative now about to follow and continuing the former one, confines itself thereto as the dwelling-place of man and the scene of the history which revolves about him. And that we may even beforehand gain an impression of the harmony between the two narratives, we have here already in the prelude the twofold name of God, יהוה אלהים, which predominates from this passage onwards throughout chs. ii. and iii. It is only in the mouth of the serpent and of the woman that God is called merely אלהים, the narrative as such everywhere (twenty times) speaking of Him as יהוה אלהים. Is it the redactor who effects in this manner the transition from אלהים, i.–ii. 3, to יהוה, ch. iv., by יהוה אלהים, or is it the Jahvist himself who has impressed upon the momentous history of Paradise the special stamp of this twofold name? Looking at the Jahvistic verse, Ex. ix. 30, the latter also must be esteemed possible. It is the single passage in the Hexateuch in which יהוה אלהים occurs besides Gen. ii. and iii., and there are but four more passages in the entire Old Testament Scriptures in which יהוה אלהים is repeated to as many as three

[1] According to Vatke's residuary Introduction, 296, *J* is the author of the transposition, for the succession of documentary sources is in his opinion as follows: *E Q J LH D*. He adheres to the completion hypothesis, and his Introduction in its present form, in which he would certainly never have published it himself, is behind the march of progress, but calculated to put a check upon it.

times, viz. 1 Chron. xvii. 16 sq. (twice), 2 Chron. vi. 41 sq. (three times), 2 Sam. vii. 22, 25 (twice), Ps. lxxxiv. (once ה׳ אלהים, once ה׳ אלהים צבאות)—the accumulation here being unexampled, and hence designed to serve certain unusual purposes. We have already spoken of the Divine name אֱלֹהִים, i. 1; God is so called as the summary of all that commands reverence, as absolute majesty and power. The name designates Him, not as subject, but as object; moreover the plural brings into the foreground rather the fulness of the Divine substance than the unity of the Divine personality. This applies both to אלהים without an article, which, when used of the true God, is equivalent to a proper name, and to הָאֱלֹהִים, in which the article lays stress, not on the personality, but on the uniqueness of God. In the name יהוה on the other hand, which is formed from the Kal of the verb הוה,[1] and was, according to ancient tradition in Theodoret and Epiphanius, pronounced *Ἰαβέ*, *i.e.* יַהֲוֶה or יַהֲוֵה (for *Αἰά* is יָהּ, and *Ἰαώ*, יהו),[2] the idea of personality is more impressed, if only because this name was originally a proper name, while אלהים on the contrary only became a proper name from האלהים. According to its meaning, יהוה is, God as the absolute Being, *i.e.* the Being unlimited by time, the super-temporal, or, since the idea of the verb הוה (היה) is not so much Being at rest as Being in movement or self-manifesting, as He who exists and lives in an absolute manner, *i.e.* who is perpetually positing and manifesting Himself, whose Being coming into appearance is the supporting foundation, and essential content of the universe and its history, and especially of the history of redemption. His own declaration, אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה,[3] Ex. iii. 14, which makes this name of God

[1] See my treatise, "Die neue Mode der Herleitung des Gottesnamens יהוה," in the *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1877, pp. 593–599.

[2] See the letters of Franz Dietrich published by me in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 1883, on the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton.

[3] Compare the diagram of explanations of the אהיה אשר אהיה in Grünbaum's article "On the Shem hammephorash," *DMZ.* xxxix. 562–566, none of which hits the centre of the meaning; nor is it correct that שם המפורש means *nomen separatum* = *secretum* (*arcanum*). If it meant this it would

the sign-manual of the period of the Mosaic deliverance, adds to the notion of absolute Being (*æviternitas*) according to the syntactic Schema, Ex. xxxiii. 19, 2 Kings viii. 1, Ezek. xii. 25, that of absolute freedom (*aseitas*), and gives to that which is in itself a personal name a still stronger personal stamp: God is the absolutely self-determining ego, ever equal to Himself. Such is the appellation of the God who unalterably and inobstructably accomplishes what He has determined historically to be, the God who fashions and pervades history by freely working according to His own counsel.[1] While אלהים is the more especially appropriate name of the Creator, יהוה designates more particularly the God of history, and indeed of the history of redemption, hence God the Redeemer. The combination of the two names denotes, according to Ps. c. 3, the oneness of the supermundane God and the God of history, the oneness of God the Creator and the God of Israel, or the God of positive revelation.

The Creation of Man, and the Nature of his Surroundings, ii. 5 sqq.

The so-called Jahveh-Elohim document is divided into two parts: the *History of the Creation of Man*, ii. 5 sqq., and the *History of the Fall*, ch. iii. Part i. goes back into the process of creation, but only so far as its occurrences had man for their centre and object, and formed the foundation of the eventful commencement of human history. This diversity of tendency must be considered, that the two accounts may not be involved in unnecessary contradiction. La Peyrère, in his *Preadamitæ*, 1655, brought forward the daring view, that ch. i. related the origin of natural and heathen mankind, and ch. ii. that of

be written ישם המופרש. שם המפורש means *nomen explicitum*, the name pronounced as it is written, but not as it ought to be spoken (the opposite of, the כנוים standing in its place, and first of them אדני).

[1] A survey of present views concerning the origin and meaning of the name Jahveh, with a careful discussion of their several degrees of probability, is given by S. R. Driver in the Oxford *Studia Biblica*, 1885.

Jewish mankind, *i.e.* of man as the subject of the history of redemption.[1] But this is self-deception in the interest of polygenesis. The scriptural cosmogony begins with one man, and one race of mankind developed from him. The difference between the two accounts is, that ch. i. relates the origin of the human race, and ch. ii. that of the first man and of the first human pair; and that in the former man appears as the object and end of the line of creation, in the latter as the centre of the circle of creation.

There are expositors (Knobel, Hoelem. Köhler) who make the apodosis to 4*b* begin with וכל־שיח, ver. 5; but this is opposed by the division of the verse, and is even, if syntactically possible (though without a preceding ויהי, xxii. 1, it is hardly so), yet with the form טרם, *seq. impf.*, very improbable. If 4*b* really belonged to what follows, we should have, with Hofmann, Bunsen, Schrader, Dillmann, to take וייצר, ver. 7, as apodosis; and this would correspond with the fact that the narrative has in view the creation of man and the history which starts from it. But vv. 5, 6 would then be a long parenthesis, and we should get a clumsy interpolated period such as we rejected at i. 1–3, because it was not to be expected in this simple narrative style. To this must be added that 4*b* has, according to Num. iii. 1, if not according to v. 1, the presumption of belonging to 4*a* in its favour. Hence we regard vv. 5 and 6 as independent sentences related by way of preparation for ver. 7, which opens with וייצר as an expression of the chief fact. The second account begins, like *e.g.* the history of Isaac's marriage, xxiv. 1, with a double sentence descriptive of the circumstances. *And no plant of the field was yet upon the earth, and no herb of the field had as yet sprung up: for Jahveh Elohim had not yet caused it to rain upon the earth, and men there were not to till the ground.* If טרם comes from נטר=טור with the termination *em* (*ôm*, Ruth iii. 14), it would mean expectation, which most easily explains the construction with an impf.

[1] See on Peyrère, S. J. Curtis, "Sketches of Pentateuch Criticism," in the North American *Bibliotheca sacra* for 1884.

following (*exspectandum erat ut fieret*); but supposing the stem-word to be טרם (=صرم), which indeed no Semitic dialect presents with such a first letter, it would signify originally "a cutting off," then remoteness from existence (compare the nouns אֶפֶס, בְּלִי, יַעַן, become particles). It is combined in the adverbial sense *nondum*, as אָז is in that of *tum* with the second tense, in historical connection in the imperfect meaning (*nondum existebat*), xix. 4, xxiv. 45, and out of historical connection in the present meaning, Ex. ix. 30, x. 7 (*nondum timetis, an nondum scis*); a perfect following it has a pluperfect meaning, xxiv. 15 (*nondum desierat*), 1 Sam. iii. 7 (*nondum noverat*). The almost tautological synonymous parallelism of the two sentences, 5*a*, has its equal in the Elohistic narrative, i. 28*a*; other examples in historical prose are xxi. 1; Ex. iii. 15, xix. 3. The repeated הַשָּׂדֶה denotes the broad and open plain (comp. חית השרה, ii. 19 sq., iii. 1, with חית הארץ in ch. i.), in distinction from the enclosed dwelling of man. There was a time, says the narrator, when there were no shrubs (שִׂיחַ, properly that which sprouts, from שׂיח, to sprout, Assyr. *sâḫu*[1]), no herbs (עֵשֶׂב, from עשב, Assyr. *éšébu*, to shoot up, to grow), not to mention trees,—a time when the world of plants had not yet appeared. And why not? The two conditions of their appearing were not yet effected. As yet there was no rain for the fructification of the germs creatively deposited in the earth; and as yet man, to whose care the vegetable world is for the most part relegated, was still absent. The construction of the double sentence, 5*b*, is like Isa. xxxvii. 3*b*, with the subject emphatically preceding the אַיִן, as it does both there and Num. xx. 5, where we must translate: water there is not; and here: men there were not, for אַיִן (*constr.* אֵין) denotes in all tenses non-existence. The two "nots" are in meaning equivalent to "not yet," for in post-biblical speech עֲדַיִן לֹא means *nondum*, but in biblical Hebrew עוֹד לֹא, Job xxiv. 20,

[1] In Arabic سديخ is the name of the thorn plant of the desert (*Artemisia judaica?*), the wood of which is the principal fuel of the Bedouins. See Wetzstein in the *Reports* of the Anthropological Society, 1882, p. 465.

and עוֹד אין have the meaning *non amplius*, and לֹא alone stands also for *nondum*, Job xxii. 16; Hag. i. 2.

The first condition effected, ver. 6: *And a mist went up from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.* In virtue of the historical connection יַעֲלֶה has also a past meaning; it here denotes, in distinction from וַיַּעַל, a reiterated event (with a perfect following, like vi. 4, xxxi. 8; comp. on ii. 10). אֵד (from אוד, אָדַד, with the fundamental idea of compressing, massing, making heavy) means condensed vapour, as does also the Arab. *ijad*, atmosphere, a synonym of *hawá*, atmosphere; the mist developed from the moist air filled with watery vapour and which trickles down as rain, Job xxxvi. 27, and here descends as dew, is thus called. From this point onwards the deposition of mist rendered the appearance of the plant-world possible. The LXX. translates πηγή, on which account Diestel regards עַיִן as original; but אד is far more appropriate, and עלה only occurs once, Num. xxi. 17, of the water-flow of a well. Now follows the first act in effecting the realization of the second preliminary condition: man comes into existence as a formation from the earth, 7*a*: *And Jahveh Elohim formed man out of the dust of the ground.* Thus the formation of man does not take place till the necessary measure has been taken for the springing up of the plant-world, that is to say, of what is appointed to form his nearest surrounding and to enter into closest relation to him, for the interest of the narrator adheres to man and his territory. While according to ch. i. the creation of the land animals culminates in man, and that in such wise that he, as made in the image of God, is at the same time of higher nature and therefore no production of the earth, we here learn further particulars of the peculiar mode of his origin. It is not said: God formed the dust into a man, but He formed the man *pulverem de humo, i.e.* so that this was the material of which he consisted; עָפָר is the predicative accusative of the material, as in Ex. xxxviii. 3, xxv. 39 (Ges. § 139. 2). The Latins translate, *de limo terræ*, and the Arabs call the material from which man was formed

طِينَة—and rightly so, for man was formed of moistened dust. Symm. and Theod. translate: *καὶ ἔπλασε κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἀδὰμ χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀδαμά*, to give us to understand that man is called אדם as being formed of אדמה; but at the same time, if the reading *ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀδαμά* is correct, from the same view which Josephus expresses, *Ant.* i. 1. 2, that Adam meant *πυῤῥός*, because formed *ἀπὸ τῆς πυῤῥᾶς γῆς φυραθείσης*, for this was virgin and genuine earth. He means the wonderfully fruitful and aromatic red earth, *arḍ ḥamrâ*, of the slopes of the Hauran chain of mountains, which is esteemed of marvellously strong and healing power, and which is believed to be self-rejuvenescent. Theodoret also says (*Quæst.* 60) that *ἀδαμθά* (אֲדַמְתָּא, Aram. = הָאֲדָמָה) is so named from its red colour. But whether אדמה is to be referred to the fundamental notion of a flat covering, as the Arabic, which transfers the name of the earthy-covering to the skin-covering (اَدِيمٌ, *cutis*), makes probable, or, as is inferred from the Assyrian, to the fundamental notion of tilling (Fr. Delitzsch, *Hebrew Language*, p. 58 sq.), it is in no case derived from a word expressing colour. The appellation of man as "the red" would be just as superficial as that of "the beautiful being" (Ludolf Kn. Schr.). The derivation of the name from the Ethiopic *adma*, to be pleasant, agreeable, charming, may be looked upon as done away with by Dillmann. The meaning "begotten, created," after the Assyr. *admu*, child, especially the young of a bird, synonymous with *lidânu* (Fr. Delitzsch in *Hebrew Language*, *ibid.*, and *Prolegom.* pp. 103–105), would be more judicious if only a trace of this אדם=בנה could be shown in Hebrew! In the Babylonian myth in Berosus, man arose from a mingling of the drops of blood running from the decapitated head of Bel with earth; thus making man the incorporated blood of the god (Assyr. *dâmu'*; Aram. אֲדַם, blood). The scriptural account however combines אדם with אדמה, and thus designates man as *γηγενής* according to the earthly part of his nature. Schrader (*Jenaische LZ.* 1875, No. 13) calls this derivation "linguistically absurd;" and this is true, for there is no second

denominative thus formed, all such names as אָחָז, אָסָף, נָתָן being verbals. We are therefore of opinion that אדם is not a denominative, but an accessory form to אדמה, as in Arabic besides أَدِيم also occurs as the name of the skin. Man is called "earth," as it is said to him, iii. 19: עפר, *i.e.* *χοϊκός*, thou art. The creation of man, as of the whole present creation, was planned in view of the foreseen fall, and therefore so to speak in an infralapsarian manner. His origin from dust makes his return thereto possible; man bears in his primæval condition the possibility of death. The second act now follows: the material form, only at first anticipatively called אדם, is animated, 7*b*: *And He breathed into his nostrils breath of life; and so man became a living soul.* The two acts, though near to each other, were not simultaneous. The body of man was first formed of the moist dust of the ground by divine *πλάσις*, and then man became an animated being through divine *ἔμπνευσις*. וַיִּפַּח, *impf. Kal*, from נפח = *ἐμφυσᾶν*, John xx. 22. The genitival combination נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים with relation to the adjectival נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, supposes an important difference of ideas. For in נפש חיה (four times in ch. i.), חיה is an adjective. If sometimes נפש הַחיה is met with (i. 21, ix. 10; Lev. xi. 10, 46), this must, according to Ges. § 111. 2*a*, be syntactically condemned; and when נפש היה is construed as masculine (*e.g.* ii. 19), this is always done only *ad sensum*. That חיה is an adjective is shown by the difference of this נפש חיה from נשמת חיים and רוח חיים, for which נְשָׁמָה חַיָּה is nowhere said. רוּחַ הַחַיָּה, *πνεῦμα ζωῆς*, is found only a few times in Ezekiel, i. 20 sq., x. 17, but in such wise that החיה is a subst. (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 45 with Rev. xvi. 3, where the text is uncertain, *ψυχὴ ζῶσα* however deserving the preference to *ψυχὴ ζωῆς*). The breath, which creatively went forth from God and entered into man, becoming the principle of his physical life, manifested in breathing and of his life in general, is called נשמת חיים, *πνεῦμα ζωῆς*, that created spirit of which the soul is the manifestation conformable to corporeity. Animals too are, accord-

ing to ii. 19, though according to i. 24 sq. not directly, formations by God, and the animal soul also is the effect of the רוח חיים which entered into the animal world. רוח and נפש everywhere bear to each other the relation of the primary and secondary principles of life; but the spirit and soul of man have this advantage over the animal soul, that they are not only the individuation of the entire natural life, but a gift bestowed on man expressly and directly by the personal God. The consciousness of this exaltation above the beast is innate in man. Man is as to his physical nature the most perfect and highly developed of animals; nor is his inner nature, his spiritual soul, categorically different from the animal inner nature, which equally consists of רוח and נפש.—The difference however is this, that the spirit-soul of man is self-conscious, and capable of infinite development, because it is God-descended in another and a higher manner. If it is asked whether ii. 7 is in favour of trichotomy or dichotomy, the question is not, as I have shown in my *Biblischen Psychologie*, 2nd ed. 1861, correctly formulated, the Scripture view of man being trichotomous (Ps. xvi. 9; 1 Thess. v. 23), and yet dichotomous. It distinguishes in man spirit (heart, *νοῦς*), soul and body; but spirit and soul belong to each other as *principium* and *principiatum;* the former is *πνεῦμα ζωῆς*, *principium principians*, the latter *ψυχὴ ζῶσα*, *principium principiatum;* the former has its life immediately from God, the latter mediately from the spirit. His having a soul is the consequence of his having a spirit, and the latter is a mysteriously creative act of God, exclusively appropriated to the creation of man, repeated whenever a man comes into existence, and specifically distinguishing him from all other beings who are also נפש חיה.

The plantation of Paradise and the placing of man therein, ver. 8: *And Jahveh Elohim planted a garden in Eden eastward; and placed therein the man whom He had formed.* Both events are first but summarily related, to form as it were the theme of what follows. The garden was of God's planting; by its beauty it gave the impression of being more directly

of Divine origin than all the earth and vegetable kingdom besides. The garden was in עֵדֶן, which means delight, and here land of delight; it was then, as thus indicated, the centre of the land of delight, the *ne plus ultra* of delightfulness. This primæval seat of man is elsewhere called גַּן עֵדֶן, ver. 15, iii. 23 sq., Joel ii. 3, or the garden of God, גַּן אלהים, Ezek. xxxi. 8; גן האלהים, Ezek. xxxi. 9; גן ה', xiii. 10; Isa. li. 3; sometimes עֵדֶן, the name of the district in which it was situated is transferred to itself, Ezek. xxviii. 13, xxxi. 9; Isa. li. 3. The name עדן, though of appellative signification,[1] is meant to denote a definite country; but the Assyrian *Eden*, Isa. xxxvii. 12, Ezek. xxvii. 23, and the Cœlesyrian Amos i. 5, are written עֵדֶן, with two Segols. Perhaps the meaning of the two names is the same; at least the Cœlesyrian Eden is similarly explained, for בֵּית־עֵדֶן, Amos i. 5, is certainly the same place as *Παράδεισος*, Ptol. v. 15. 20. *Paradisus*, Plin. v. 19, near to Ribla (different from the village Bêt 'Genn, near the heights of Bettagene on the eastern declivity of Hermon), the valley between Libanus and Antilibanus, is in the Moslem Sunna reckoned as one of the four earthly Paradises. גן in this passage is translated *παράδεισος* by LXX. Sam. Syr. Jerome; it is the פַּרְדֵּס occurring in the Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes, which, since Spiegel, is identified in my Monograph on the Song of Solomon, 1857, with the Zend. *pairidaêza* (from *pairi* = *περί*, and *dêz*, heap, √ *diz*, to heap, from which also comes *dista*, hearth), in the 3rd and 5th Fargard of the Vendidad (see Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, p. 180).[2] The word there indeed means only "a heaping round," and not a walled garden; but where else than in Persia, if not Babylonia (see Fr. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, pp. 95–97), should the root-word of the Armenian *pardêz*, Arab. *firdaus*, Heb.

[1] Compare, not the Arab. عدن, *mansio* (as Beidhawi on Sur. xiii. 23 explains العدن الاقامة), but غدن, *mollities*. On the first explanation, comp. *DMZ.* xxxix. 580 sq.

[2] See Wetzstein in 2nd ed. of my *Jesaia*, p. 689 sq.

פַּרְדֵּס, be sought for? It is not the idea of fencing, but of shading from above, which is connected with the stem-word of גַּן, so that גַּן means a place roofed over by foliage, as the Aram. גְּנוֹן means the Baldachino (Fleischer on Levy's *Chald. WB.* i. 435). God planted this garden in a delightful country, מִקֶּדֶם, not: from ancient times (Trgg. Syr. Aq. Symm. Theod. Jer.), but from the east (*i.e.* the quarter of heaven being regarded as the fixed point whence the eye looks forth to determine the locality of the place[1]): eastwards, viz. east of the Palestinian standpoint of the narrator. In the *Quæstiones* of Jerome is found besides מקדם, the reading ממזרח; in many texts the word is wanting entirely (see Lagarde, *Genesis*, p. 23 sq.). In this eastwardly situated garden God placed the man whom He had formed; שָׁם, not שָׁמָּה, for *vv. ponendi* are construed in Hebrew as in Latin (Jer. *in quo posuit*).

Particulars concerning the planting of Paradise follow, ver. 9: *And Jahveh Elohim made to spring out of the earth every kind of tree pleasant to the sight, and good for food; and the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.* The article of הַדַּעַת shows that טוֹב וָרָע (the whole idea of these contrasts will be discussed subsequently) is the accusative object (הדעת is a substantivized infinitive like הַשָּׁמֶרֶת, Num. iv. 12); the emphasis falls upon the knowledge in this accusative connection more than in the genitive (comp. Jer. xxii. 16). The nouns מַרְאֶה and מַאֲכָל without an article, but supplied with לְ, are also used infinitively (for seeing, for eating = to see, to eat), and are of really the same nature as the *nomina actionis* (similarly formed with a preformative מ in the Aramean manner), Deut. x. 11; Num. x. 2. The tree of life is distinguished, as standing in the midst of the garden, from the fruit trees, which were so pleasant to look on, and which excited the appetite. The chief emphasis being here laid upon the Divine authorship, ועץ with what follows is to be regarded, as by Jer. Luth. and

[1] See Nägelsbach's 2nd Excursus in his *Anmerkungen zur Ilias*, Autenrieth's 3rd ed. 1864.

most expositors, as dependent on וַיִּצְמַ. It is however striking that the tree of knowledge is mentioned incidentally, and that it is questionable whether it also is to be conceived of as standing in the midst of the garden or not. Hence Budde conjectures, that the original text was ובתוך הגן עץ הדעת טוב ורע, without עץ החיים. This conjecture seems confirmed by the circumstance, that the woman only designates this one forbidden tree as standing in the midst of the garden, iii. 2. From these and other indications, especially that, according to ii. 16 sq., the eating of the tree of life, as well as of all the other trees of the garden, one only excepted, would have been granted to man, he draws the conclusion, that the history of the fall, which turns upon the tree of knowledge, is a specially Israelite theologumen of the Jahvistic school, and that the tree of life was afterwards introduced into it from popular tradition not specially Israelite (comp. Prov. iii. 18, xi. 30, xiii. 12, xv. 4). We should thus have here an attempt to explain the origin of sin in the form of a myth, which was subsequently embellished with an alien element. The main support of this conjecture lies in the fact, that as the narrative reads, the partaking of the tree of life appears to be freely conceded to man, while we nevertheless afterwards learn, iii. 22 sq., that it was reserved as a reward in the case of their standing their test. But this is in appearance only. The state of the case is as follows: the narrative testifies indeed to the presence of the tree of life from the beginning, but nothing is said to men concerning it. Only one tree, the tree of knowledge, is put in the foreground for their notice; as for the tree of life, it is at first not present to their notice, and is, so to speak, not unmasked till after the fall.

But before proceeding to the history of the fall, the nature of Paradise and its relation to the rest of the world are described, ver. 10: *And a stream went forth from Eden to water the garden; and thence it was divided, and became four new rivers.* Jerome rightly translates *egrediebatur*, LXX. incorrectly ἐκπορεύεται; the writer is indeed speaking of Paradise as a thing

of the past, and the temporal sense of such a noun sentence is always determined by the connection (*e.g.* Obad. ver. 11, where *fuisti* has to be thought of). The connection here however is a historical one, and וְנָהָר יֹצֵא therefore equivalent to ונהר הָיָה יצא, like Ex. xiii. 21 sq.; Judg. iv. 4 sq.; 2 Sam. ix. 11–13; John i. 11, comp. xviii. 16 (an adverbial sentence in historical connection). Hence too יִפָּרֵד must also be taken in a past sense, *dirimebat se*.[1] The stream was parted מִשָּׁם from the garden onwards, *i.e.* at its departure from it, into four רָאשִׁים. According as the movement of the representation is upwards or downwards, does ראש mean either the upmost, that in which anything culminates (head, chief matter, sum), or the foremost, that whence anything advancing proceeds.[2] If waters are spoken of, ראש may mean either *caput fontis* or *caput fluvii*. רֹאשׁ הָעַיִן, Arab. *ra's el-ʿain*, is the name given to the starting-point of a spring, whence it flows onwards as a brook. Many localities get their names because the source of some river begins in their neighbourhood, *e.g.* the famous Mesopotamian town *Ra's el-ʿain* (in Steph. Byz. *Resaina*), with the remarkable much sung of four sources of the Chaboras (خابور). We can hardly understand ראשים in our passage thus of ראשי עין, beginnings of rivers; the notion would then be, that the stream of Paradise flowed on subterraneously, and broke forth farther on in four springs, whence proceeded four other rivers. We must on the contrary conceive of ראשים as ראשי נְהָרִים, Assyr. *rêš nâri* (Fr. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 98). Arab. *ra's en-nahr* is also said of the place where a river branches off from another, as *e.g.* "there is in the *Ġûṭa* of Damascus an important river called *Hârûš*, which is divided near the village *Nôlâ* into two rivers, the northern and the southern *Hârûš*; the place where the two rivers go forth

[1] The Hebrew impf. denotes in historical connection continuance in the past, *e.g.* ii. 6, xxix. 2, but frequently also only what happened while something else was happening, *e.g.* Ex. xxxiii. 7; 1 Sam. ii. 19. In the latter case it answers to the Latin impf. as an expression of the synchronistic.

[2] So by Orelli, *Synonyma der Zeit und Ewigkeit*, p. 14.

from the one is called الانهر رووس, *capita fluviorum*" (Wetzstein). Hence the meaning here is that the stream, which rose in Eden and flowed through Paradise, became at its exit therefrom τετρακέφαλος, *i.e.* separated into four tributary rivers. The considerable size of the branch may be hence inferred; for "if from the فَيْض, *i.e.* from what remained of the stream after the watering of Paradise, four others could be formed, the stream must have been very large, the garden of great extent, and its flora wonderful; for we have to imagine, that the הַשְׁקוֹת אֶת־הַגָּן was not effected, as it is with us in a park, by the stream simply flowing through it, but by its being divided into many rivulets, and thus led everywhere, that it might from time to time overflow the whole surface of the garden,—a mode of irrigation which is called *tôf* (طَوْف), and is found in its greatest perfection in the *Gâṭâ*" (Wetzstein). Two of the rivers formed from the *fêḍ* (overflow of water) of this stream of Paradise are unquestionably the Tigris and Euphrates; the two others which are named first are enigmatical. According to the traditional view, one is the Nile, the other an Indian river. The first branch river, vv. 11, 12: *The name of the one was Pison: it is that which flows around the whole land of Ḥavilah, where is gold; and the gold of that land is fine: there is bdellium and the ᵛSoham stone.* We translate not: the name of the one *is*, but *was*, like iv. 19, xxviii. 19, and frequently; the narrator is describing the network of waters as it encircled the outer world from Paradise. But when he continues הוּא הַסֹּבֵב, he at once identifies the four rivers with such as still existed. No such name of a river as פִּישׁוֹן occurs elsewhere, hence we are reduced to conjecture and inference from the description. But we remark beforehand, that whatever may be the inference drawn from names and description, such a state of things as will answer to the picture cannot in reality be pointed out. The Tigris and Euphrates neither rise from one source nor branch off from one parent stream; hence a common starting-point of these

two, together with two other rivers, is utterly undiscoverable, and the effort to point out the four rivers in four that are in the closest possible approximation to each other cannot lead to their full identification. The prevailing view of ancient expositors was that Pison (Phison) was an Indian river. For the notion of the Midrash, repeated by Saadia, Rashi, and also by the Arabian Samarit., that Pison was the Nile, because פישון points to פשתן, the raw material in the manufacture of linen (see Aruch under פשון), is out of question. Josephus, the Fathers and the Byzantines see in Pison the Ganges (*Γάγγης*), and in Gihon the Nile, in opposition to which Kosmas Indikopleustes thinks both were Indian rivers, and takes *Γηών* for the alliterative name of the Ganges and *Φεισών* for the Indus, which is beyond comparison more probable (Dillm. Riehm and others), since this chief river of Western India lay far more within the ancient horizon than the Ganges did. פישון, according to its meaning, corresponds surprisingly with the Hyphasis, with which Haneberg compares it. For as פישון comes from פּוּשׁ, to gallop, to rush wildly, so is Hyphasis equivalent to *vipâsa*, the unfettered (Lassen, *Pentapotamia Indica*, p. 9). The Hyphasis however, though containing gold, is yet far less renowned as a gold river in a gold country than the Indus (Sindhu), the sacred river of the Vedas, which unites in itself the five rivers of the five-river country (Pendschab). The land called הַחֲוִילָה is designated by אֲשֶׁר־שָׁם הַזָּהָב as the special abode of gold, and indeed, as 12*a* adds, of excellent gold. The Khateph-Pathach of זָהָב serves to enhance the pronunciation of the sibilant like וְשַׁדָּה, וְכֶסֶף, רְצָפָה, יִצְחָק, etc., on the feminine הוּא, which is written הִוא, as *Keri perpetuum*, and which we here meet with for the first time; see the Introd. p. 42, and my article on it in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 393 sqq. The description suits India, and especially the river-watered region of the upper Indus, the renowned gold country. Here was the abode of the gold-bringing Indians of Herodotus, of the Dardä (Daradä) of Megasthenes, Arrian, Strabo and Pliny, of the ants who threw

up their hills in a soil abounding in gold. The abundance of this district in golden-sanded rivers, in auriferous earth, in gold-diggings, has lately been brilliantly confirmed. Hence אֶרֶץ הַחֲוִילָה seems to signify the land of sandy soil (from חוֹל, the sand as driven about by the wind), and especially of golden sand; the Targ. Jer. i. translates it by הינדקי, *i.e.* India; but it is by no means India alone that is so called; for the latter the name הוֹדוּ (= *Hondu*) first occurs in the book of Esther—Havilah is the name of a distant south-eastern country inhabited by Ishmael and Amalek, with which antiquity combined what it knew of Hither India (see the article "Eden" in Riehm's *HW.*). When it is said of Pison that it compasses the whole land of Havilah, this does not necessarily mean, that it surrounds it like an island, for סבב is also said, Num. xxi. 4, Ps. xxvi. 6, of a crescent-shaped movement. Arabia was in ancient times esteemed as the second gold country, but the combination of the Pison with the South Arabian rivers *Baiš* and *Bîsa*, and of Havilah with Chaulân (خولان), attempted by Sprengen in his *Ancient Geography of Arabia* (1875), is devoid of all probability. בְּדֹלַח is named as a second product of Havilah. The word occurs again only Num. xi. 7, where neither the name of a precious stone (perhaps ברלח = *vaiḍûrja*, according to Garbe, *Die indischen Mineralien*, 1882, the stone which we call cat's-eye) nor of a pearl is suitable. ברלח is undoubtedly the same word as *βδέλλιον βδέλλα*, *bdellium bdella* (see Saalfeld's *Thesaurus Italogræcus*, 1884), and this is the name of the aromatic gummy resin of certain Amyrides (balm-trees), such as the Indian *Amyris Commifera Roxburgh* and *Amyris Agallocha* (see Geiger, *Pharmac. Botanik*, 2nd ed. p. 1215 sq.). The Indian root-word (Lassen: *madâlaka*, musk-scented, otherwise Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abh.* p. 20, No. 39) is not yet certain; the Arab. ملف is a word dependent on a name of Bdellium commencing with *m* (comp. Pliny, xii. 35: *gummi alii brochon appellant, alii malacham, alii maldacon*). That bdellium was chiefly received from India is testified by Dioskorides and Pliny (Lassen,

Indische AK. i. 339). It is also the chief mine of the ʿSoham stone, for שֹׁהַם means according to LXX. Ex. xxviii. 20, xxix., and indeed our passage also, where it translates ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος, and according to the Targums Syr. Saad. the beryl, according to LXX. Job xxviii. 16, Aq. Symm. Theod. the onyx, according to Aq. in our passage the sardonyx, and according to LXX. Ex. xxv. 7, xxxv. 9, the sardis, both which stones are of the same species as the onyx. India was a chief treasury of the sardis, onyx, and sardonyx (see v. Veltheim, *Ueber die Onyx-Gebirge des Ctesias*, 1797; Lassen, *AK.* iii. 12), and also of the beryl, of which Pliny says: *India eos gignit raro alibi repertos.* Sprenger explains the name as the "stone of Socheim" (سخيم), which is the name of a Jemanic district, producing a specially fine onyx, but this is opposed by the article in הַשֹּׁהַם, and ה from خ is also improbable. Rödiger compares with the name the Arab. شاهم, *pallidus;* but this is no word of colour, but means thin and dried up by heat. The second branch river, ver. 13: *And the name of the second river was Gihon: that is it which compasses the whole land of Cûš.* The name גִּיחוֹן, from גוח (גיח), to break forth (like כִּידוֹן, from כוד כיד), is so appropriate a name for a river, that several are so called. *ʾGaiḥûn* is the Semitic name of the Oxus, and *ʾGaiḫân* of the Pyramus in Asia Minor and Cilicia (see the explanation of both names in the Geographical Lexicon *Merâṣid*, edited by Juynboll); the Araxes is also, according to Brugsch, *Persische Reise*, i. 145 sq., called *Gêhûn* by the Persians. On this account he combines the Gihôn of Paradise with the Araxes, and Phisôn with the Φâσις ὁ Κόλχος (Herod. iv. 37 sq., 45), whence, as also Kurtz, Bunsen, and others assume, חוילה would be Kolchis and כוּשׁ the Asiatic Κοσσαία. This view obtains a support in the Armenian tradition, that the lovely oasis of *Ordubâd* beyond *ʾGulfa* on the left bank of the Aras is a residue of the garden of Eden. Other transmitted popular opinions, however, place Paradise elsewhere, and the otherwise interesting combination is

decidedly opposed by the circumstance, that though Havilah is an extensible geographical notion, without fixed outlines, it must not be sought so far northwards between the Black and Caspian Seas. There is far more weight in the ancient and powerfully advocated view, that גיחון is the name of the Nile which winds about כּוּשׁ = Æthiopia and especially Meroe. The objection, that the Nile is in the Old Testament called by other names, is not to the point. For such names as יְאֹר, נָהָר, יָם, cannot be taken into consideration, but by the side of גיחון only and solely the name שִׁיחוֹר (= *Σῖρις*, according to Dionys. *Perieg.* v. 223, comp. Pliny, v. 9, the native name of the Upper Nile).[1] This very name is however rendered *Γηών* by LXX. Jer. ii. 18, and that *Γηών* was accessible from the Nile is seen from Wisd. xxiv. 27 (*ὁ ἐκφαίνων ὡς φῶς παιδείαν, ὡς Γηὼν ἐν ἡμέραις τρυγητοῦ*), where *ὡς φῶς*, the parallel of *ὡς Γηών*, rests on a mistaken translation of כיאור (כִּיְאוֹר or כִּיאוֹר), *i.e.* is as the Nile. *Κέων* too, registered in the Coptic Glossaries (*Journal Asiatique*, 1846, p. 493 sq.) as a name of the Nile, must be also noticed in this connection. That the Nile was so called in its upper course is shown by the Samar. Targum, which paraphrases גיחון: עסקוף, which flows about the whole land of כופין (for which the Arabic translation, edited by Kuenen, gives the جاحين, which flows about the land of *Sudan*). This עסקוף needs no emendation, as M. Heidenheim (*Samar. Genesis*, 1884, p. 76) thinks; the Goschop, which surrounds in a spiral-shaped course the Abyssinian Kaffa near the sources of the White Nile (*bahr el-abjaḍ*), and is therefore taken for one of the original sources of the Nile (see Ritter, *Ein Blick in das Nil-Quelland*, p. 31 sqq.), is intended. In the Avesta and Bundehesch also one river, in which the stream of Paradise descending from heaven communicates itself to the earth, is the eastward flowing Indus (*Veh-rud*), the other the

[1] Brugsch in the March number of the *German Review* regards שיחור as *Shi-Hur*, watercourse of the Horus, Hebraized, and thinks that the eastern frontier channel of Egypt on the lower course of the Pelusian arm of the Nile was so called.

westward flowing Nile (*Arg-roṭ*), or rather the Araxes (Ἀραξης, Herod. i. 202) and the Nile together. For the Nile was regarded as the *Raŭha* (Vedic, *Rasâ*) = Araxes, flowing on subterraneously, and reappearing in Egypt. According to the ancient view, the Nile comes from Asia into Africa, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea being considered inland seas. Inspiration does not in things natural raise its subject above the state of contemporary information, and we need not be astonished to find that the picture of Paradise exhibits some of the incompleteness of the most ancient state of geographical knowledge. Every Israelite knew indeed that the course of the Nile in Egypt was from south to north, but antiquity had only uncertain conjectures as to the mouth of the river, the Egyptian priests knew nothing of it, and in Egypt Herodotus could not learn anything even tolerably probable about it. Alexander the Great was during his sojourn in India the subject of a strange delusion concerning the sources of the Nile (see Geiger, *Alexandri M. Historiarum Scriptores*, p. 118 sq.); Hekatäos too, the most ancient of Grecian geographers, launches forth into fables: he transposes the origin of the Nile beyond Africa, and does this with a reference to the Argonauts, whose ship the old Hellenic tradition makes to come back into the Mediterranean Sea through the Nile (see Ebers, *Æg. und die Bb. Mose's*, p. 31; comp. *Hecatæi Fragmenta*, ed. Klausen, pp. 119–121). Similarly does Pomponius Mela teach, that the Nile rises in the Antichthon (the land lying opposite to our inhabited part of the earth), which is separated from us by the sea, flows on under the bed of the ocean, and at last arrives at Upper Egypt.[1] The third branch river, 14*a*: *And the name of the third river was Hiddekel: that is it that floweth to the east of Assyria.* The Tigris, named again in the Old Testament only Dan. x. 4, is meant. The original name of the river is

[1] See the article of Letronne on the situation of Paradise (especially on the subterranean course of the rivers) in Alex. v. Humboldt's *Kritischen Unters. über die hist. Entwickelung der geogr. Kenntnisse von der Neuen Welt*, vol. ii., 1852, p. 82 sqq.

Accado-Sumerian, *i.e.* belonging to the language of the non-Semitic original inhabitants of North and South Babylonia, viz. *Idigna* (see on the meaning, Friedr. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 171), whence the Assyrian *Idiḳlat*, which the Hebrew has so assimilated by changing the weakly aspirated *id* into חד that the name sounds like חד, *acutus*, and קַל, *celer*, and also like חֵדֶק, *aculeus*. In the Bundehesch it is *Dagrad*, in the Pehlvi דגרת, and in the inscriptions of Darius *Tigrâ*, which, according to ancient testimony, means both the arrow and the river of arrow-like swiftness, the modern Persian too تیر (*tîr*), which has been abbreviated from it, and is just such an Eranian popular etymological assimilation of a foreign word as חדקל is of a Hebrew one, combines both these meanings. Other forms of the name, *e.g.* Aram. דִּגְלַת, Pehlv. דגרת, Arab. دِجْلَةُ (in ancient Arabic always without article and *diptoton*), are on the other hand only phonetic changes, with which no idea or image is combined, as in those others which denote a stream bursting from the mountains with fearful rapidity, and continually altering its bed. In what sense however is it said that the Hiddekel flows קִדְמַת אַשּׁוּר ? Most moderns (Knobel, Keil, Schrader, Dillmann, Fr. Delitzsch) translate: *in front of Assur*, for from the West Asiatic standpoint of the narrator the three chief cities of the Assyrian empire lay east of the Tigris; Nineveh and Kelach close to its left bank, and Dur-Sarrukin farther landward; hence the Tigris flowed in a westerly direction from this centre of the Assyrian world-power and formed the front of the land of Assur, which lay to the east of it, and of which it thus formed the western boundary. The LXX., which here and at iv. 16 translates קדמת by *κατέναντι*, may be appealed to in favour of this translation. But it is very improbable that קדמת anywhere means the front of a thing, and not on the contrary everywhere, both here and iv. 16, as well as 1 Sam. xiii. 5, Ezek. xxxix. 11, that which is the front to any one going eastward, *i.e.* the eastern region. The proposed rendering of Pressel too:

towards the eastern side, which from it onwards forms Assyria, cannot be accepted; for קדמת does not mean the east side of a thing, but the eastward direction from it. The Targums translate: eastwards from Assyria, and קדמת אשור cannot, even if it were an incompatible statement, be otherwise understood. In fact, the Tigris bisected the Assyrian region, so that it might equally be said of it, that it flowed קדמת אשור as מַעֲרָבָה לְאַשּׁוּר. The oldest capital of the empire, called Assur, now buried under the hill Kalah-Shergat, lay on the west bank of the Tigris, and the plain of ancient Assyrian ruins extends from the western bank of the Tigris to the neighbourhood of Chaboras; the centre of gravity of the Assyrian power in general lay west of the Tigris towards Mesopotamia, and if we take אשור more in a geographical than in a political sense, so as to make it—as Tuch after Huet agrees—comprise the aggregate of the lands of the Upper Euphrates and Tigris (as distinguished from Babylonia, שנער), we may say with perfect accuracy that this Assyria, as to its main body, has the Tigris on the east. The fourth branch-river, 14*b*: *And the fourth river was the Phrāth.* The Euphrates is meant. Its name, like that of the Tigris, is radically Accado-Sumerian, viz. *Pura, i.e.* stream, fully written *Pura-nunu, i.e.* great stream, quite corresponding with the Hebrew name of the Euphrates נהר (Isa. vii. 20; Micah vii. 12), הנהר, הנהר הגדול. This original name is in Semiticized Babylonio-Assyrian *Purât*, Heb. פְּרָת (*Paradies*, p. 169 sq.), as derived from פרה: the fruit-bearing, or, according to *Bechoroth* 55*b*, the abounding in water, Arab. *Furat*, as from فرت, to be loose, soft, mild (especially of water), for the Euphrates with relation to the Tigris is, as Philo, *Quæst. in Genesin*, says, *mitior et salubrior magisque nutritorius.* The Greek form of the name *Εὐφράτης*, with *εὐ* sounding like commendation, resembles the ancient Persian *Ufrâtu.* What the narrator says concerning this fourth river is strikingly brief, because there was no need of any more particular designation of what was so

universally known, and the memory of which is entwined in the name of all עִבְרִים (= *Transeuphratenses*). The western Euphrates (*Frat-su*) rises upon the Domlu-Dagh, a summit gorge valley of the Giaur-Dagh near Erzerum; the eastern Euphrates (*Murad*) upon Tschir-Geduk, one of the ridges of the Ala-Dagh in the Pashalic of Bajazid; but the Tigris northward of Diarbekr in the highlands, surrounded on three sides by the course of the Upper Euphrates. The main sources indeed of the Tigris are only 2000 paces distant from the bank of the Euphrates, but the notion that the Tigris and Euphrates were originally only ramifications from one mother stream, is inconsistent with the present condition of the land. We shall be obliged to admit, that with the disappearance of Paradise all certain knowledge of the four rivers has been lost, and that the narrator is reproducing the tradition which regarded the Indus, Nile, Tigris, and Euphrates, the four largest and most beneficial streams of the ancient horizon, as hand-posts pointing backwards to the lost Paradise, as *disjecta membra* of the no longer existent single stream of Paradise. A traditional saying of Mohammed is of similar import: "The *Saihân* (*i.e.* the Σάρος or Ψάρος) and the *'Gaihân* and the *Nile* and the *Frat*—these all belong to the streams of Paradise (Arnold's *Chrestom. arabica*, p. 23); and a like idea finds expression in certain Puranas, viz. that the Gangâ which fell from heaven upon Mount Meru near the city of Brahma, flows through the earth in four arms.

We have now only to sketch two more views[1] which try to make the picture of the five rivers more conceivable and admissible, so far as this may be done by bringing the Pison and Gihon into close connection with the Tigris-Euphrates. I. Pressel (in the art. "Paradies," in the supplement

[1] We leave out of consideration Moritz Engel's *Lösung der Paradiesesfrage* (Lpz., Otto Schulze, 1885), which places Paradise in the oasis *el-Ruhbe* in the midst of the Harra eastwards of Haurân, on the eastern side of the terrible volcanic plateau of *es-Safa*, and also designates the Hiddekel and Frat as rivers of this oasis (*Wadi el-Garz* and *es-'Sâm*). See Ryssel's notice of the book in the *Palästina-Zeitschr.* viii. (1885) p. 233 sqq.

to Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* and in his *Gesch. und Geographie der Urzeit,* 1883) seeks for Paradise in the midst of the western shore lands of the *Shatt el-arab, i.e.* the united Tigris-Euphrates, the region in which lies Baṣra, formerly esteemed by Moslems as one of the four earthly Paradises. The Tigris and Euphrates join near the town of *Korna,* and the united stream flows a distance of 40 leagues to its mouth. Eight leagues below Korna the *Kerkha* (Choaspes), from the east, empties itself into it, and twenty leagues farther down the *Karûn* (the אולי of the book of Daniel, the Eulæos of the Greeks), two leagues farther on the now quadruple river begins to divide into two branches, in which it finally flows for a distance of ten leagues to its mouth in the Persian Gulf. Pressel regards the Shatt el-Arab as the stream out of Eden, and the Kerkha = Gihon, the Karûn = Pison, the Tigris and Euphrates as the four "heads" of the giant-body of the Shatt el-Arab. But this hypothesis is built upon the present condition of the South Babylonian Delta, and the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates into one stream before their reaching the sea did not as yet exist in ancient times. Nor is it consistent with the language of the description in hand. The Tigris and Euphrates uniting into one stream, and the Kerkha and Karûn flowing into this double stream, cannot be called ראשים of that one, and are not ראשים into which it divides, since, on the contrary, it arises itself from the union of the four rivers. II. It is more conceivable that Pison and Gihon should have branched off from the Euphrates, and it is according to this supposition that Friedr. Delitzsch, in his *Wo lag das Paradies,* 1881 (comp. Sayce, *Alte Denkmäler,* p. 24), reconstructs the picture of the one river with its four branches. According to 8*a*, Paradise lay מקדם; the Jahvist who tells us so was a Judean, or at least a Palestinian; but eastwards from Caanan, and separated from it by the great desert, lies Babylon, not Armenia, for which we should have expected מצפון instead of מקדם (ממזרח). The stream out of Eden is the Euphrates in its upper course; *édin* and *šêru* are Babylonian

synonyms for depression, lowland, plain.[1] As the valley of the Jordan is called *gôr*, so is *zôr* still the name of the great valley through which the Tigris and Euphrates flow into the Persian Gulf. Accordingly Eden is the lowland of the twin streams and the garden in Eden, the district near Babylon, so renowned from of old for its Paradisaic beauty, and called by both Babylonians and Assyrians *Kar-Duniâš*, *i.e.* garden of the god Duniâš. The stream that waters this garden of God is the Euphrates, and in a certain sense the Euphrates-Tigris, since the Euphrates at its entrance into the plain of Babylon flows on a higher level than the Tigris, and is blended as it were into one stream with it by many rills flowing in its direction. Below Babylon this large body of water divides into four great water-ways, by which it is led southwards into the whole country. The first branch-river, the *Pisânu* (the Babylonio-Assyrian word for water reservoir), is Pallakopas, the great channel of the Euphrates, by whose southern course lay Ur of the Chaldees. חוילה is the great desert contiguous to its right bank. The second branch, the *Guḫânu*, is the next largest channel of the Euphrates, the so-called Nile channel (*Shatt en-Nîl*), formerly a deep, broad, navigable river surrounding mid-Babylon in the form of an arch. כוש is Northern Babylon proper, as the land of the *Kaššu* (see Friedr. Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, 1884), the name of which stands in an as yet unexplained connection with Ethiopia-Egypt. The products of the country, mentioned ver. 11 sq., do not oppose this combination. Tiglath-Pileser II. says concerning one of his campaigns in the year 731, that he received as tribute from Merodach Baladan *ḫurâṣa êpir mâtišu ana ma'dê*, gold of his country in great quantity. There was also Bdellium in Babylon, and this was the nearest land from which the Israelites could become well acquainted with it (Num. xi. 7). The stone ᵛSoham, Babyl. *sâmtu* (fem. of *sâmu*), was a chief product of the province of *Meluḫḫa* or of the Kaššu-country, so rich in precious stones. We do not consider it impossible

[1] Sippar lay, as a clay tablet states, in the land of *Edinu*.

that Fr. Delitzsch's view may receive further confirmation from the monuments. Friedr. Philippi's objection, in the *Theol. LZ.* 1882, No. 7, that it is no less Utopian than that which is rejected, is not to the point; for though the picture thus obtained does not answer the requirements of scientific hydrography, it contains nothing impracticably fantastic. Of Dillmann's objections, one only is at first striking, viz. that the region of fig cultivation (Gen. iii. 7) is excluded from the lower course of the Euphrates and Tigris.[1] For that it could never enter into the mind of a Jew to regard Babylonia as the primitive seat of mankind, and the environs of Babel as at one time the garden of God, is contradicted by *Berachoth* 39*a*, and especially by *Bechoroth* 55*b*, according to which the stream out of Eden, פרת מעקרא, is the Euphrates at its rise (therefore its upper course). In the Talmud, Midrash and Pijut it is everywhere assumed that the unnamed mother stream, the trunk as it were of the four, was continued in the fourth branch,[2] and that this is indicated by the brevity of expression in ver. 14.

The narrator having developed 8*a*, and the planting of Paradise, and more particularly described its situation, now developes 8*b*, and describes the placing of man and the beings associated with him therein, ver. 15: *And Jahveh Elohim took the man, and placed him in the garden of Eden, to dress it, and to keep it.* The verb נוח has two Hiphil forms, one of which, הֵנִיחַ, means to bring to rest, to quiet, the other הִנִּיחַ (comp. the half passive in Zech. v. 11), to settle, to leave. According to this, man was not made in Paradise, but made out of the earth somewhere else, and then transported into Paradise; and indeed לְעָבְדָהּ וּלְשָׁמְרָהּ, to dress and to keep this garden of

[1] Sprenger, *Babylonien, das reichste Land der Vorzeit* 1886, p. 244, says, that Babylonian figs were not so good as those of Asia Minor and Syria. *Tittu* = *tintu*, the name of the fig, is a common Babylonian word.

[2] See *Genesis rabba*, ch. xxvi.; *Lev. rabba*, ch. xxii.; *Num. rabba*, ch. xxi. end. *Tanchuma* on Num. xxviii. 2, and Kalir in Baer's Siddur *Abodath Jisrael*, p. 653, וחפרת תוקפו כנגד שני נהרות, *i.e.* the Euphrates included in itself the waters of the Pison and Gihon.

God. גַּן, elsewhere masc., is here treated as an ideal feminine. Hupfeld thinks that the narrator adds this "from the present order of things in momentary self-forgetfulness." Budde also sees in it a disturbing addition by the embellisher of the original history of Paradise which was analysed by him; for "man was in Paradise for happy enjoyment, not for work and care-taking." The world of nature was however designed to be tilled and tended, it runs wild without man, who can and ought (as is shown, for example, by corn, vines and date palms) to make it more useful and habitable, and to ennoble it by taking an interest in it. Besides, "happy enjoyment" is impossible either in heaven or earth in a life of contemplative laziness. As in ii. 1–3 work is ennobled by creation itself being called a מְלָאכָה, so here in the Jahvist it is made to appear as Paradisaic. It is however intelligible that the horticulture here committed to man differed from subsequent agriculture, as the garden of God differed from ordinary ground, and still more from the ground which was cursed. No creature can be happy without a calling. Paradise was the centre whence man's dominion over the earth and the drawing in and lifting up of the natural into the region of the spiritual thereby aimed at, was to make its beginning. This his nearest duty has both a positive (*ad colendum*) and a negative side (*ad custodiendum*). From what follows we may infer that the meaning of וּלְשָׁמְרָהּ is not restricted to keeping the garden from running wild, or from injury by animals. He was also to keep it by withstanding the power of temptation, which was threatening to destroy him and Paradise with him. In Paradise itself was not only the tree of life, but also the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (ver. 9), and what man was threatened with in respect of the latter we now learn, vv. 16, 17: *And Jahveh Elohim commanded the man, saying: Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat, but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou mayest not eat, for on the day of thy eating thereof thou shalt die.* The verb צִוָּה with עַל signifies to command strictly, on which account this

construction is usual in prohibitions (see the Lexicon). The first תֹּאכֵל (the pausal form) has a potential meaning; the *inf. intensivus* strengthens the notion of option. The second תֹּאכַל (the extra-pausal form) has the jussive sense; with לֹא it is, as in the Decalogue, the expression of strict prohibition. The inf. of אכל is sometimes found as אֲכֹל, sometimes as אֱכֹל, with the prefix ב (Num. xxvi. 10), and always with an added suffix, as אֲכָלְךָ. The *inf. intens.* before תָּמוּת strengthens the certainty of what is threatened. All is now prepared for the test of man's freedom. The tree of knowledge bears, like the tree of life, the name of its destination, and is therefore not called the tree of death. Men were by means of this tree to attain to the knowledge of good and evil, including the blessings and ills resulting from them (Isa. iii. 10 sq.). The final purpose of this tree is perverted when it is asserted that טוב ורע are natural properties and not moral distinctions, and that therefore דעת טוב ורע is culture as the knowledge of the agreeable and the disagreeable, of the profitable and the harmful; and also when טוב ורע is said, as by others, to be a proverbial expression for everything.[1] For how then could the partaking of it be forbidden? If Jahveh grudged men culture, He would be governed by malevolence (*φθόνος*), like the gods in Herodotus. What is in question is not an advance from childish ignorance to culture, but from childlike innocence to moral decision. The two trees were both trees of blessing, for the knowledge of good and evil is the characteristic of intellectual maturity, of moral full age, in contrast to *νηπιότης*, Isa. vii. 15 sq.; Heb. v. 14. As the tree of life was by eating thereof to be to man the means of life, as the reward of his standing the test, so was the tree of knowledge to be by avoiding the eating thereof the means of the right use of freedom. God

[1] Certainly this expression may, in negative sentences like xxiv. 50, xxxi. 24, mean "absolutely nothing," and in positive ones like 2 Sam. xiv. 17, comp. 20, "absolutely everything;" but even then always as an expression of contrasts, under which everything is comprised. These contrasts may be used in a physical, a purely intellectual, or an ethical sense, according to the object and connection of what is being related.

was not thereby a tempter to evil, He did only that which could not be omitted, if man was to attain to moral decision with respect to God. Only in communion with God does the creature attain ideal perfection; but the idea of a personal being implies that this communion should be union in free love, that therefore power and occasion must be given to man to decide either for or against God. Hence the primæval מִצְוָה gave man occasion to advance by his free avoidance of evil from the potential good implanted in him to actual good, and from his innate *liberum arbitrium* to *libertas arbitrii*, i.e. positive freedom—in other words, from the freedom of choice implanted in his nature to freedom of power independently acquired. The result, according as the test of freedom falls out one way or the other, is either completeness of communion with God or separation from Him, happiness or unhappiness, life or death. In this history everything turns, not upon the externalism of what is related, but upon the realities which have assumed this form. The question however as to whether death, which was threatened for the eating of the tree of knowledge, is thought of as the direct penal consequence of disobedience, or as indirectly such by means of the nature of the tree of knowledge, cannot certainly be set aside. We shall have to admit, that as the tree of life possessed in a sacramental manner, so to speak, the power of immortality, so also did the tree of knowledge the power of death; not however like a poisonous tree, as *e.g.* the Upas, but in virtue of the Divine choice and appointment. Hence it is said תָּמוּת, not תּוּמָת—death will not be a judicial execution, but a consequence involved in the nature of the transgression.

The narrator cannot directly proceed to the conduct of the man with respect to God, for man did not transgress the Divine command as a single being, and the creation of woman, now to be related, intervenes between the command and the transgression. In ver. 18 we have the resolve of the Creator: *Then Jahveh Elohim said, It is not good that man should be alone; I will make him a help meet for him.* A

help (Tob. viii. 6, *βοηθὸν στήριγμα*), *i.e.* a being who might be his helpmate, and indeed such an one as should be his counterpart, the reflection of himself, one in whom he may recognise himself. כְּנֶגְדּוֹ, only here in the Bible, is a customary post-biblical expression for anything correlative and parallel. The Divine words are not: I will make him one like to him, that he may propagate himself. עֵזֶר, *adjutorium*, is not intended of one *ad procreandos liberos* (Augustine, *de Genesi ad lit.* ix. 3), but, according to the connection, of a helpmate for the fulfilment of his calling, which, as 15*b* shows, was the tilling and keeping of Paradise. To be alone, to remain alone, would not be good for him; only in society could he fulfil his vocation. For this he needed the assistance of one who should be his equal, or rather what כְּנֶגְדּוֹ in distinction from כָּמוֹהוּ denotes, one who by relative difference and essential equality should be his fitting complement. The preparation for realizing the Divine purpose, vv. 19, 20: *And Jahveh Elohim formed out of the ground every wild beast of the field, and every fowl of the heaven, and brought them to the man, to see what he would call it: and whatever the man called it, the living creature, was to be its name. And the man gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of heaven, and to every wild beast of the field: and for a man he found no fitting help.* Much fuss has been made about the contradiction between this and the former account of creation. In the former the creation of animals precedes that of man, in this the creation of man that of animals. But could this narrator really mean that the environment of man was till now exclusively a vegetable and a mineral one? And if his meaning had been, that animals were now first created, he would not have left water animals and reptiles unmentioned, whereas he speaks only of wild beasts, cattle and birds. The animal creation appears here under a peculiar point of view, which the narrator certainly did not regard as its motive in general. It is the first step towards the creation of woman, for the matter in question is an associate, his equal in dignity, for

man formed מִן־הָאֲדָמָה. On this account וַיִּצֶר will have to be understood as the foundation, recurring to what is past, for וַיָּבֵא: *et formavit . . . et adduxit = et cum formasset adduxit.* This is possible as far as style is concerned, and suitable to the scriptural mode of writing history (*e.g.* Isa. xxxvii. 5; Jonah ii. 4; Zech. vii. 2; comp. Hitzig on *Jeremiah*, p. 288, 2nd ed.). The Arabic ف also does not always introduce the successive in time, but frequently goes back to the cause, and is thus like the Hebrew ו *consec.*, an expression for a consequent connection looking either backwards or forwards. This backward regard is moreover brought about with a certain necessity, by the fact that this second narrative has man for its centre, and not like the first, which relates in a continuous line, for its end and climax. The chief matter is that God, after having created beasts, brought them to Adam that he might name them. נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, 19*b*, is in apposition to לוֹ, נפש being, as in enumerations (see Num. xxxi. 38, אחד נפש), regarded as masculine. The addition is strange in itself and also in the position of the words, but defended by LXX.: *καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸ Ἀδὰμ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.* The purpose of the bringing together of the animals and of naming them was, that the desire for a being who should be like himself and complete him, might be aroused in the man. He found however none such among the animals לְאָדָם for a being such as man is. אדם is not as yet a proper name, but is used without an article because qualitatively: He found among the animals no creature fitted to be his helpmate, if only because his language remained without response on their part. For this result was arrived at while he was naming them. No Divine command is laid upon him to do this. He sees the animals, conceives notions of what they are and appear like, and such notions, which are in themselves already inward words, become involuntarily uttered names, which he gives to the animals, and through which he places the impersonal creatures in the first intellectual relation to himself the personal being.

The narrative presupposes man's power of speech, for it makes God speak to man, ii. 16, and man understand Him. Now, however his power of speech obtains external realization, it is only a portion of the genesis of speech which is here related.

As the man in naming the animals finds none among them adapted to his exalted position and requirements, and the desire for human intercourse and assistance has become active within him, he is placed in a condition in which the creation of such a being can proceed, 21*a*: *Then Jahveh Elohim caused sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept.* The man had to be placed in the condition of sleep; because as all creation external to us is withdrawn from our perception, so too must all creative operations of God upon us be effected in the region of unconsciousness, and not come into our consciousness until they are accomplished. All the Greek words which signify deep sleep are used by Greek translators for תַּרְדֵּמָה (from רדם, to stuff; רדם to shut, to close); Aquila *καταφορά*, Symm. *κάρος*, Greek Ven. *κῶμα*, LXX. *ἔκστασις*, from *ἐκστῆναι*, to be removed from the actuality of waking life and placed in a state of mere passivity (the opposite of *σωφρονεῖν* and *γενέσθαι ἐν ἑαυτῷ*). In the present case this mere passivity does not contribute to susceptibility to impressions of the supersensuous world; it is no ecstatic sleep (like the so-called trance of somnambulists) that is intended, but natural though Divinely effected sleep. The process of creating woman follows in 21*b*, 22: *And He took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh in its stead. And Jahveh Elohim built the rib, which He had taken from the man, into a woman, and brought her to the man.* The woman is *ἐξ ἀνδρός*, and not the man of the woman, says St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 8. Her production is designated neither by ברא nor יצר, but by בנה; she is neither made from nothing nor from the dust of the earth, but from the first man, *i.e.* from his spiritual and material nature, and already organized substance. For it is the pre-eminence of mankind above the animals, to have come into existence, not

as a pair and species, but as a person. This pre-eminence and the unity of origin of the human race in general would be forfeited if the woman had not sprung from the *one* first man. But now all men without distinction are as our old poets say: *Ein Gesippe, Von des ersten Adams Rippe.* צֵלָע, from צלע, to bend sidewards, signifies as a part of the human body, the rib placed at the side and bending forwards and backwards towards the breast bone. The rib which was used for the building of the woman was consequently a supernumerary one. Man has twelve ribs; a thirteenth above the first or below the last only occurs as an anomaly. Thomas of Aquinas remarks in the spirit of the narrative: *Costa illa fuit de perfectione Adæ, non prout erat individuum quoddam, sed prout erat principium speciei.* It was, as the Targ. Jerus. conceives, the thirteenth upper rib of the right side; but that God closed up the flesh in the place thereof, *i.e.* filled up the hole with flesh, leads to another notion. בָּשָׂר, Heb. and Aram. flesh, Arab. skin, from בשר, to streak something on the surface, means properly *materia attractabilis;* the palpable exterior of animated beings, and especially that which manifests the distinction of sex, is so called. תַּחְתֶּנָּה, from תַּחַת, not תַּחְתֶּיהָ, from the extensive plural תַּחְתֵּי, is not intended to mean, like the latter, *loco ejus*, but *in locum ejus*, and has therefore the suffix, which expresses the accusative and not the genitive relation, the verbal instead of the nominal suffix. If what is related is, externally regarded, a myth, it yet covers a kernel of fact. The Elohistic account also indicates that mankind was originally created as *one.* Man's existence in a union of the as yet unseparated contrasts of male and female preceded the sexual differentiation of mankind, and his glorified condition in another world will correspond with this first beginning, Mark xii. 25; Luke xx. 35 sq. The exclamation of the man when the woman is brought to him, ver. 23: *Then the man said: This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; this shall be called Woman, for this was taken from man.* When reviewing the animals the man found himself again and again disappointed, he fell asleep

longing for a companion; his desire was now suddenly fulfilled. All three זאת point to the woman, on whom his eye gladly and admiringly rested with the whole power of first love. If זאת הפעם is taken according to the accusative connection, the sentence would want the subj. היא, or a predicate like נְתַן לִי or קָנִיתִי, hence זאת is the subject of the sentence 23*a*. Nor is the זאת needed for the idea: this time, by this time; הפעם has even without זאת the meaning this time, pregnantly: now at last (*tandem aliquando*), xxix. 34 sq., xxx. 20, xlvi. 30; Ex. ix. 27. לְזֹאת is like Job xxxvii. 1, while on the other hand Ex. vii. 23 has in pause with fore-tone Kametz לָזֹאת. To יִקָּרֵא must be supplied in thought שָׁם, xxxv. 10, as in Isa. lxii. 4, 12. Instead of לֻקָּחָה we have לֻקָּחָה without Dagesh, and with *ŏ* as an echo of the *u* instead of simple vocal Sheva, like סֻבְּלוֹ, Isa. ix. 3. The expression is a Tristich, whose close returns retrogressively to its beginning. The poetry of love is found here in its first origin, and gives poetical movement and flight to the words of the man. Perhaps (for it is neither necessary nor certain) the narrator regarded אִשָּׁה as not only the logical, but also the etymological feminine of אִישׁ. Adam however did not speak Hebrew, nor is scientific etymology our subject, but in לזאת יקרא אשה כי מאיש וגו׳ the thought finds expression, that the woman is acknowledged as an offshoot of the man, as coming into existence after him, but of like nature with him, and is to be named accordingly. For אִשָּׁה is etymologically related to אִישׁ, not as (according to Jerome) *virago* is to *vir*, and (according to Luther) *Männin* to *Mann*—1. Because אִישׁ is not contracted from אֲנִשׁ, its plural being not אִשִּׁים (which means *ignes*, from אֵשׁ), like עֲוֹנִים, from עָוְ=עָנְ, but אִישִׁים, the long *î* pointing to a middle vowel stem, probably אוש (whence הִתְאַשֵּׁשׁ, Isa. xlvi. 8, and the proper name יְהוֹאָשׁ), to be strong. 2. Because, as the dialects show, the שׁ of אשה is not of the same phonetic value as the שׁ of איש; for the Aramaico-Arabic equivalents are אִתְּתָא, أُنْثَى, hence אשה comes from a stem אנש whose שׁ is of equal value with ث, and for which the meaning "to

be soft, tender," must be assumed, a meaning which the Arab. أَنِسَ perhaps has, but as a denom. and hence more generally, viz. to be weak, frail. Thus אִשָּׁה and אֱנוֹשׁ, iv. 26, come from a like verbal stem and fundamental notion (see Fr. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* 160–164, and comp. on iv. 26). Now follows a statement turning upon marriage as the deepest and closest union, ver. 24: *Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh.* Is this a reflection by the narrator, or are these the words of the man? The New Testament Scriptures, which quote this verse as the word of God, Matt. xix. 4 sq., do not decide the question; the statement is the word of God as being a component part of the inspired Scriptures. The narrator's custom of interweaving remarks beginning with עַל־כֵּן in the history, x. 9, xxvi. 33, xxxii. 33, speaks for its being a reflection of his own. Such remarks are however of an archæological kind, and in their position within the historical statement, while ver. 24 is on the contrary a reflection concerning a thing future, and, since the history of the creation of woman does not close till ver. 25, an interruption to the historical connection. On this account we view ver. 24 as a continuation of Adam's speech. That he perceives the woman to have been taken out of himself, is the natural consequence of her proceeding from his being. But he also predictively reads in her countenance the nature of marriage, he penetrates the Divine idea realized in the creation of woman. The future יַעֲזֹב too, with the preterite ruled by it, speaks for the words being the continuation of Adam's exclamation. Marriage is a relation in presence of which even the filial relation recedes, a relation, as εἰς σάρκα μίαν declares, of most intimate, personal, spiritual and corporeal association, and to say this is at the same time to designate monogamy as the natural and God-designed form of this relation. Supermundane facts are, according to Eph. v., shadowed forth in this mystery. The creation of the woman too is typical: *Sicut dormiente Adamo*

fit Eva de latere, sic mortuo Christo lancea percutitur latus, ut profluant sacramenta, quibus formetur ecclesia. State of innocence of the first pair, ver. 25: *And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed.* The formation עֲרוּמִּים, with the euphonically doubled מ and the incorrectly retained *mater lectionis*, is plur. of עָרֹם, of the same formation as גָּדֹל, from ערם, عرم, to peel, to expose, in opposition to which עֵירֻמִּם, iii. 7, plur. of the sing. עֵירֹם, iii. 10 sq., seems to be derived from עור related to ערר, ערה, عَرِىَ, to strip (comp. Stade, § 327*a*). Instead of "they were not ashamed" we might also, in conformity with the meaning, translate: they were not ashamed before each other. Hoelem. rightly refers to xlii. 1, where התראה means not to stare at themselves, but to stare at one another; comp. on Ps. xli. 8, and on the root notion of בוש (with שׁ = ښ, ת), *perturbari*, on Ps. vi. 11. Shame is the overpowering feeling that inward harmony and satisfaction with oneself are disturbed. They were not ashamed of their nakedness; and why not? Shame is the correlative of sin and guilt. They had no reason to fear that the body would show sin in them. Their internal condition was holy, their external excellent, though their holiness was only of the kind belonging to the unclouded innocence of childhood, and their excellence was not as yet glory. It was however a pure and bright beginning, which might have been followed by a like but progressive development.

THE FALL OF THE FIRST CREATED HUMAN BEINGS, CH. III.

The second part of the so-called Jahveh-Elohim document, the history of the trial of man's freedom and his fall, now follows. The man has now his vocation, beside him an associate therein, around him a flora and fauna created for his service and delight. What a blissful beginning! how overflowing with Divine blessings! Among the trees of Paradise there is but one behind which death is lurking, and this one is forbidden to

man, that he may not fall a prey to the power of death, but conquer it by obedience to God. It was possible for man to remain in the happy condition in which he was created, and to establish it by the submission of his own to the Divine will. But it was also possible that this subordination to God as such should be repulsive to him, and that he should entirely of his own accord rebelliously assert his ego against the Divine. And it was possible in the third place, that, tempted from without by an already existing power of evil, he should lose sight of the Divine will and, seduced by the charm of the forbidden, should fall into disobedience. This last possibility, the comparatively less evil of the two latter, was realized. He was tempted from without, and by whom? The object of the temptation was found in the vegetable, the tempter came from the animal world, 1*a*: *And the serpent was wise above every beast of the field which Jahveh Elohim had made.* The adj. עָרוּם, *callidus*, is, like עָרֹם, *nudus*, formed from a stem ערם, concerning whose root-meaning on this side nothing satisfactory can be said (see Gesen. *Lex.* 10th ed.). The serpent is called wise (*φρόνιμος*, Matt. x. 16) in a sense by which praise is accorded to it. חָכְמָה and עָרְמָה appear in Prov. viii. 12 as associates. The name נָחָשׁ however (Arab. حَنَشٌ, חֲנָשׁ, of reptiles in general) is taken from its present nature (from נחשׁ, related to לחשׁ, to hiss), and reminds of mischief (Arab. *naḥs*, against which the Assyrian *naḫsu*, by means of a setting apart of the notion *omen* to *faustum omen*, means fortune). The comparison: *præ omnibus animalibus arvi quæ*, etc., assumes that there are not two creative principles, but that all beings have the one God for their Creator. The question of the serpent, 1*b*: *And he said unto the woman, Is it really so that Elohim hath said: Ye shall not eat of all the trees of the garden?!* It is a half-interrogatory, half-exclamatory expression of astonishment, similar to xviii. 13 (הַאַף אֶמְנָם) and 1 Sam. xxii. 7 (גַּם for הֲגַם, as here אַף for הַאַף), but peculiar because in this אַף כִּי, which elsewhere

has mostly the culminative signification *quanto magis*, אף represents a whole sentence: *etiamne* (*verumne*) *est quod*, like Ruth ii. 21, גַּם כִּי = *accedit quod*. Has Elohim really—asks the serpent—forbidden you all use of the trees of the garden? Instead of ה' האלהים the serpent says only אלהים; the combination of the two Divine names subserving indeed a didactic purpose only in the historical style of the narrator. Even in the mouth of man God is not called אלהים ה', nor is He called ה' till after the promise interwoven in the sentence of the serpent was given. The astonishment expressed by the serpent is aimed at inspiring mistrust towards God; he speaks as though God had gone so far as to say, that they might not eat of any of the trees of the garden. Had then the serpent the faculty of speech? If we regard the narrative as history clothed in figure (and to a certain extent we may let this pass, if it is held to be really a history of the all-decisive first sin, and not, with Reuss, as a representation of the genesis of sin in general, and therefore a myth in the proper sense), this question of astonishment is obviated, and the talking of the serpent stands on a level with the talking of animals in fables. In no case is the position of the narrator with regard to the matter of this mythic kind. He is consciously reproducing a tradition which, transmitted to the nations from the original home of the human race, underwent among them transformations of all kinds. He reproduces it in the fashion which stood the criticism of the spirit of revelation. Transposing ourselves into the mind of the narrator, we have to ask: Did he then conceive of the animals of Paradise as capable of speech? By no means; man only, into whom, ii. 7, God directly breathed the breath of life, is regarded by him as a personal being, and therefore as capable of speech. Let it not be however forgotten that the deepest conceivable wickedness is speaking from the mouth of the serpent, when it is seeking to make men mistrustful of God. It is not more surprising that the serpent should speak, than that it should speak such thorough wickedness. That it should speak is a

miracle, though only a phenomenal one. And that it should utter such thorough wickedness comes from its being the instrument of a higher and deeply fallen being. Hence its speaking is a demoniacal miracle. For it is contrary to the impression made by 1*a* to consider it as the intention of the narrator to have the serpent regarded as a mythical symbol or a deceptive phantom. An animal is intended, but an animal not speaking of its own accord, but as made the instrument of itself by the evil principle. By the evil principle we understand the evil which had before the fall of man penetrated the world of spirits, and which is subsequently spoken of as Satan and his angels. The six days' work, ch. i., concludes with the seal והנה טוב מאד. It was in view of man that, as ch. ii. relates, the flora and fauna which was to form his environment were called into being. That Satan would seek to ruin this good creation might be expected; the shelter of Paradise and the trial of man's freedom were designed to make him contribute by obedience to God to the triumph of good over evil. It is also evident why Satan should seek to tempt man to partake of the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge. He desired that man should open the prison of death, and thereby deliver him, even Satan, from his bondage. The narrator confines himself to the external appearance of what took place, without lifting the veil from the reality behind it. Elsewhere too the Old Testament speaks but very sparingly of the demoniacal; and it is characteristic that the very same narrator, in Num. xxii., where Balaam's ass speaks as the serpent does here, and where the secret causality is a purely Divine one, mentions the author of the miracle. Or was what he narrates veiled to the narrator himself? The horizon of Old Testament believers was narrowed after the preparation for redemption entered within the limits of nationality. Besides, it is a law of the history of redemption, that the kingdom of grace and the kingdom of darkness should be only gradually and in mutual relation unveiled to each other. It is in the Book of

Wisdom ii. 23 sq. that we are first told that it was the devil himself who tempted man in the serpent. But it was not merely the Alexandrians, but also the Palestinians, who judged thus, when they called the devil הַנָּחָשׁ הַקַּדְמוֹנִי; and the fact of the temptation of Jesus, when the tempter encountered the second Adam in direct personality, makes it quite certain that the serpent and Satan are in some way identical, John viii. 44; 2 Cor. xi. 3 (comp. 14); Rom. xvi. 20; Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2. Granting even that the trees of Paradise and the serpent were mere symbols, this much is still left, that man fell away from that first good development which was implanted in him through the temptation of Satan,—if this is given up, there remains instead of Christianity as the religion of redemption, nothing but a rationalistic Deism, which excludes the supernatural. It is said that the serpent is an emblem of the seductive charm of the earthly. But why is it just the serpent that is chosen for the purpose? Why, but because it appeared to antiquity, and still appears to the natural man, as an uncanny being. In Sanchuniathon it is called *τὸ ζῶον τὸ πνευματικώτατον πάντων τῶν ἑρπετῶν*; according to popular Arabic faith it is no ordinary creature, but a *Ginn;* among the Romans too *anguis* was an image of the genius, and in *πύθων* serpent and dæmon are united, just as in Heb. also נחש is a homonym for serpent and witchcraft. The serpent was regarded as a ghostly instrument, not only of ruin, but also of blessing and healing, and it is on this view that its adoration as an *ἀγαθοδαίμων*, of which an Israelite trace also is found in Num. xxi. 8 sq., comp. 2 Kings xviii. 4, is founded.[1] Hence, even if the form of the narrative is regarded

[1] The שָׂרָף מְעוֹפֵף, "flying serpent," in the natural world, Isa. xiv. 29, has its celestial counterpart in the שרפים מעופפים, Isa. vi. 2. The former is an emblem of the Messiah, who as with a fiery poisonous bite kills the world-power, which is destructive to the people of God. The heavenly seraph on the other hand (Isa. vi. 6 sq.) burns away the sin which destroys man. The seraph, lifted up by Moses as an antidote to the slaying שרפים (Num. xxi. 6), is an image of a more exalted seraph, who slays not the sinner, but the sin and the ruin effected thereby, and is therefore a serpent as *ἀγαθοδαίμων*.

as mythic or symbolic, the serpent was pre-eminently adapted to represent an earthly power of seduction with a mysterious background. And this mysterious background is, as revelation in its onward course discloses, the evil which before the fall of man had already invaded the world of spirits. The ancient Persian tradition is that which has remained most faithful to the original meaning of the scriptural tradition. The serpent (*Dahāka*) is the first creature by means of whom Ahriman destroys the first created land of Ormuzd (*Airjana-vaéǵa*); it has "three jaws, three heads, six eyes and a thousand senses," and is called the powerful devilish monster, the ungodly one who is destructive to all beings (*DMZ.* xxxvi. 571). Ahriman is represented as appearing in serpent form, and is himself called the serpent. The *Trita* of the Vedic legend, who falls in conflict with the serpent (*ahi* = ἔχις), has its counterpart in the Persian in *Thraêtôna*, one of its three great heroes, who slays the destroying serpent (Zend. *ashi dahāka*), "made by Ahriman for the ruin of the world:" the serpent, the enemy of all good, according to Aryan belief, destroyed peace, annihilated Paradise, overthrew *Jima* (*Dschemschid*), the noble sovereign of the golden age, who is, as Roth, Muir, Spiegel have shown, one with the Indian *Jama*, "the first man who died," according to *Atharveda*, xviii. 3. 14. The Babylonio-Assyrian tradition too stands in unmistakable connection with the scriptural history of the fall. In it the serpent as a beast from the abyss is called *Ti'âmat*, and as the enemy κατ' ἐξ. *aïbu*. Merodach goes forth against him, treads him in the dust and kills him. He is thus a dæmoniac being. If the biblical account had placed in the stead of this serpent, the serpent of natural history as a symbol of sensuality and the charms of sense, it would have imparted a moral shallowness to the national legends, while in truth the scriptural reproduction of such national popular legends has stripped them of their mythological tinsel, and reduced them to the germ of the genuine and simple state of the case.

The whole depth of Satan's wickedness is disclosed in the words of the serpent. It is impossible that we should conceive too highly of the rank assigned to this spirit among the heavenly spirits and in creation in general. His rebellion against God, his efforts to supplant Him and to put himself in His place, his acquirement of the sovereignty of this world through the fall of man, can only be explained as the abuse of an exceptionally high place of power bestowed upon him by God. His subtilty is shown in his application to the woman as the weaker, and by the manner in which he begins his temptation by representing in apparently inoffensive ignorance the barrier which God had drawn round man as general, and thus making it sensibly felt. The answer of the woman, vv. 2 and 3: *And the woman said to the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden, and of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, Elohim has said: You shall not eat of it, nor touch it, lest you die.* The pausal נֹאכֵל is certainly not equivalent to אֹכְלִים אֲנַחְנוּ, but first of all a potential: we may eat of it, and are also doing so. The מִן of וּמִפְּרִי does not answer to the Latin *de*, Greek *περί*,—it is only so used in a bad modern Hebrew style,—but the words: and of the fruit of the tree, etc., stand first as the apodosis: and as for eating of the fruit of the tree, etc. מִפְּנִי, 3*a*, refers to the fruit, or even, according to 17*a*, to the tree. The woman shows herself fully conscious of the Divine prohibition, and of the penalty with which its transgression is threatened. פֶּן states the consequence by way of warning, and the paragogic imperfect תְּמֻתֻן has a more energetic sound than תְּמוּתוּ, Lev. x. 7. The addition וְלֹא תִגְּעוּ בּוֹ is mostly understood as a distortion (Ambrose: *decoloratio*) of the prohibition, betraying a feeling of its harshness and strictness. But the command not to eat of the fruit of this tree really involved the command not to touch it; besides, it was not touching but eating to which the charms of the tree finally seduced the woman, and, which is the chief matter, the tempter would not have immediately found so receptive a soil for the seed of mistrust

which he was sowing. It is more probable that the woman, seized with alarmed foreboding of what the serpent was trying to persuade her to, sought by this addition to cut off any further allurements. The slight attempt to excite mistrust, which had been so far successful that the woman did not flee at his utterance, was now followed by the bold denial of what God had threatened, ver. 4: *Then the serpent said unto the woman: Ye shall not surely die.* This denial of the truth of God sounds as strong as possible: the brevity and completeness of the expression make the contradiction absolute. The finite verb is strengthened by the *inf. intensivus;* the imperfect form for *moriemini* is energetic, and לֹא does not stand between the infinitive and finite, but before the former, which is anomalous and rare, Ps. xlix. 8; Amos ix. 8. After denying the truth of God, the tempter disputes His love, thus exciting first doubt and then ambition, ver. 5: *For Elohim knows, that in the day of your eating thereof, your eyes will be opened, and you will be like Elohim, knowing good and evil.* The antecedent בְּיוֹם וגו׳ is followed by the *perf. consec.* with ו *apodosis,* like Ex. xxxii. 34, xvi. 6 sq.; Prov. xxiv. 29; comp. Driver, *Hebrew Tenses,* § 123. LXX. and Jerome here translate: *sicut Dii scientes bonum et malum,* thus leaving it uncertain whether יֹדְעֵי is meant as an adj. to אלהים (for which iii. 22, comp. 2 Sam. xiv. 17, may be referred to) or (which is favoured by the accentuation) as a second predicate to והייתם, "ye shall be like God, ye shall be knowing good and evil." The meaning is however the same, whichever the combination. The tempter promises man, as the reward of a participation which sets aside the prohibition of God, a knowledge which shall make them like God. This is to make envy, which selfishly grudges man the highest good, envy the most hateful contrast to love, the motive of the prohibition. There is however in the promised *eritus sicut Deus* an element of truth which makes its falsehood a blinding one. Man certainly was to attain by this tree to the knowledge of good

and evil, and so to self-dependence and thereby to likeness to God. But the progress brought to pass by partaking is the exact opposite to the progress which, according to the purpose of God, was to be brought about by abstaining from partaking. To eat contrary to the command of God was self-emancipation from the restraint of law, self-elevation to anti-theistic autonomy, self-completion by deciding against God, in one word self-apotheosis, not by direct rebellion against God, but through subjection to the power of sense, 6*a*: *Then the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was pleasant to look on.* The ל of לְמַאֲכָל is like that of למראה, Josh. xxii. 10, and indeed like that of לריח, Song of Sol. i. 3; while in לימים, Job xxxii. 4, it is on the other hand an expression of the relation, and not at the same time of the end intended. That which causes a feeling of delight combined with desire for possession is here called תַּאֲוָה. The reason for the repetition of the subject הָעֵץ in the third sentence is, that this third sentence gives the sum-total of the other two. Hence it does not mean to say that the tree appeared to her desirable, because it seemed to give her that of which the serpent held out the prospect, viz. the means of higher knowledge, perhaps because she imagined that it was to his partaking of this fruit that the serpent was indebted for his superiority to the other beasts in wisdom. Then הַשְׂכִּיל would mean to make intelligent, wise (like Ps. xxxii. 8; Prov. xvi. 23, xxi. 11, according to which *Gen. rabba*, c. 19 and 65: it appeared to her מוסיף חכמה), or rather (which would better suit נֶחְמָד) to become intelligent, to acquire knowledge (like Ps. ii. 10, xciv. 8). The translation however of the LXX., *ὡραῖον τοῦ κατανοῆσαι*, comes nearer to the apparently summing-up character of the third sentence. The consequence of the tree appearing to her as one good to the taste and pleasant to the eyes, was that she found it agreeable, and to give herself to its contemplation. For the Hiph. השכיל, starting from the notion of thought and reflection, means *attendere, attente contemplari* (with an accus. following, *e.g.* Deut. xxxii. 29, or a preposition,

e.g. אל, Ps. xli. 2). In any case, ונחמד העץ להשכיל means that the tree had not only a charming exterior in her eyes, but that it had also gained an attractive background. She looked at it in the false light thrown upon it by the serpent, and thus regarded, it reacted so irresistibly upon her, that lust conceived and immediately brought forth sin, 6*b*: *And she took of its fruit, and ate; and gave to her husband with her, and he ate.* The pausal וַיֹּאכַל and וַתֹּאכַל have the tone upon the ultimate; the extra-pausal, xxv. 34, Lev. ix. 24, x. 2, upon the penultimate; comp. below on ver. 12, "To her husband, עִמָּהּ," does not mean added to her (which would rather have been expressed by אִתָּהּ, comp. Num. xviii. 1), but found near her. He whose existence in the Divine image preceded that of the woman remains at first passive in the transaction against God, and then becomes the follower of his wife in sin. The woman who was the first seduced lost her human dignity to the serpent, and the man next seduced lost over and above his manly dignity to the woman. They in whom that work of love, creation, culminated, act as though God were mere arbitrariness and malevolence. A beast seduces men made in God's image. The lord of the world and his helpmate fall through a tree: their natural environment, which they were to keep and to rule, entangles them, and thus becomes their and its own ruin. Human sin has to be variously labelled, and it is in this respect characteristic that the fall of man was brought to pass by Satan by means of a beast and about a tree. All sin begins by being sensual, then becomes bestial, and finally, if the sinner advances on this course, Satanic. The first results of sin are shame and avoidance of God, vv. 7–10. The promise of the serpent is fulfilled: they gain knowledge, but of what? Ver. 7: *Then the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed leaves of the fig-tree together and made themselves aprons.* The verb ידע means not merely intellectual knowledge, but at the same time profound inward experience (*nosse cum affectu et effectu*). וַתִּפְקַחְנָה states the *actus directus* of

knowledge, and the וַיֵּדְעוּ that follows the *actus reflexus* of feeling nakedness to be a shame. Their spirit had broken away from the God of its origin, their body was no longer pervaded by spirit in union with God, naked sensuousness is stripped of its innocence, it manifests the inward stirrings of sin, and reacts on the soul in temptation. Therefore they were now ashamed, and this feeling was indeed the consequence of sin, but also a reaction against it. The verb תפר means, like ῥάπτειν, to sew together with a needle, or to join in some other way, *e.g.* by means of string. The apron is called חֲגֹרָה, from חגר, to surround, whence the Arab. *ḥigr*, bosom, where the mother holds and embraces her child. תְּאֵנָה, Assyr. *tittu* = *tintu*, according to the common use of the word the *ficus carica*, is, according to Fürst, from אנה=ענה, to be bent, as growing crooked. But the leaves of the common fig have no tough tendrils and are too soft for aprons. Some kind of fig no longer ascertainable is meant by the fig-tree of Paradise. The *Musa paradisiaca* however is, botanically regarded, no fig-tree at all. They made themselves aprons of foliage like that of the Pisang or Banana, to cover the parts where the generative organs, called both in scriptural and human language in general the privy members, are situated. These are called עֶרְוָה (*e.g.* ix. 22 sq.) and בָּשָׂר (*e.g.* Lev. xv. 2; comp. Ex. xxviii. 42), because nakedness and flesh, which shame bids men to cover, culminate in them. Here, where all the radii of the natural life, now stripped of the consecration of the Spirit, meet, as in its source, the contrast of the natural and the spiritual, now severed from each other, came forth in its greatest sharpness. But it is a wrong inference of recent writers (Wendt, *Lehre von der menschl. Vollkommenheit*, 1882, p. 203, Budde and others), that nakedness in itself falls, according to the view here presented, under the idea of the רע from which the tree of knowledge gets its name. Evil is disobedience, and the feeling of shame, now excited by nakedness, was only one of its evil consequences.

Mankind had now decided against God, yet not directly, not

unseduced, and not as purely spiritual beings, but as beings composed of spirit and body; hence this first sin, notwithstanding its infinite guilt, did not, as is immediately shown, exclude their capability of redemption, although redemption is only a work of free unmerited mercy. The Creator approaches His fallen creatures, and that not merely as a judge, 8*a*: *Then they heard the sound of Jahveh Elohim as He walked into the garden in the wind of the day.* קוֹל is found also at 2 Sam. v. 24, 1 Kings xix. 12, for the sound which shows that some one is approaching. מִתְהַלֵּךְ may be taken either as in genitival apposition, or like מיהל, Ps. lxix. 4, as an accusative of circumstance (according to the Arab technical term as حال); comp. on iv. 10. Modern expositors take delight in making this child-like narrative as childish as possible. But the Hithpael הִתְהַלֵּךְ, spoken of God, does not mean an aimless walking in security, like Job xxii. 14, in the mouth of the Epicurean, but a majestic walking in the midst of Israel, like Lev. xxvi. 12; Deut. xxiii. 15; 2 Sam. vii. 6. רוּחַ הַיּוֹם is the time of evening coolness, as חֹם הַיּוֹם, xviii. 1, is the time of mid-day heat. At evening the distracting impressions of the day are weaker, the mind is in repose, we feel more alone with ourselves than at other times, and the feelings of melancholy, of longing, of isolation, of home sickness are awakened. And thus it now came to pass that at eventide our first parents began to recover from the intoxication of Satanic deception; they grew quieter, they felt their isolation from communion with God, their separation from the home of their origin, and the approaching darkness made them aware that their inward light was extinct. In this condition they became conscious of the sound of God's footsteps. It was God their Creator, who now as God the Redeemer was seeking the lost. The anthropomorphic character of the event must not be entirely set to the account of the narrative, it corresponds with the Paradisaic mode of God's intercourse with man, which culminated in the incarnation, as the restoration and completion of the first beginning in Paradise. God did not come down from heaven, but dwelt

as yet on earth. A golden age, in which God or the gods have not yet withdrawn to the distant heaven, but hold direct and intimate intercourse with men, forms the outer rim of most national histories. At the approach of God they were afraid; shame was the first consequence of sin, avoidance of God the second, 8*b*: *Then the man and his wife hid themselves before Jahveh Elohim amid the trees of the garden*, properly the wood of the garden, which is just such a collective word as עֵץ. Here Pentateuchal diction avoids the plur. עֲצִים in the sense of trees, which it has in the more modern usage of the language, and employs it only in the sense of words as plural of the product. הִתְחַבֵּא (נֶחְבָּא, 10*b*) means a temporary concealment occasioned by fear, differing from נִסְתַּר, to hide oneself (iv. 14). A reproving conscience manifests itself in this concealment, as well as in their covering their nakedness, while it is at the same time shown that as delusion is the cause, so also is folly the consequence of sin; for though it is impossible that man should make himself undiscoverable by God, the sinner attempts the impossible. Ver. 9: *Then Jahveh Elohim called unto the man, and said to him, Where art thou?* אַיֶּכָּה is used in inquiring after the place of an object which is being sought for, *e.g.* xxxvii. 16, and אַיֵּה (=*ajjaj*, as הִנֵּה=*hinnaj*, according to the formation אַנִי מָתַי) in inquiring after the place of a person who is missing, xviii. 19; Judg. vi. 13; Ps. lxxxix. 50; hence, where art thou, why art thou not in the place where thou shouldst be looked for and found? The question is not where are ye, for the first man is the man *κατ' ἐξ.* responsible for the woman and for all mankind. God seeks him, not because he is lost from His knowledge, but from His communion. He answers, ver. 10: *I heard Thy sound in the garden, and I was afraid, for I am naked; and I hid myself.* The consequence, וָאִירָא (from יָרֵא, with the root notion of trembling), denotes, like Hab. iii. 16, the effect of hearing. After the tie of loving intercourse is broken, man occupies the position of a disobedient servant towards God. The answer he gives is not untrue, but it conceals the sin itself behind what was only its

consequence, disobedience behind the feeling of shame. And as the examination continues, both he and the woman avoid open and penitent confession by excuses for sin. The question to the man, ver. 11, is: *Who showed thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee not to eat?* As צִוָּה is combined with a double accusative, *e.g.* vi. 22, אֲשֶׁר must be taken accusatively: which I commanded thee, viz. not to eat of it. הֲמִן suggests confession to the man; but instead of frankly owning his sin, he lays the blame upon the woman, and indirectly upon God Himself, ver. 12: *Then the man said, The woman whom Thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I ate.* The certainly preferable accessory from עִמְּדִי for עִמִּי was here desirable, even on account of the rhythm. וָאֹכֵל is the pausal form of the first pers. with Tsere, while out of pause it is written וְאֹכַל, xxvii. 33; both have the tone on the ultima, for a distinction even by means of the tone is only found in the *impf. cons.* (apart from a recession caused by a word following with the tone on the first syllable, as in וְתֹאכַל, 2 Sam. xii. 21; 1 Kings xiii. 22) in the second pers. (וַתֹּאכַל, iii. 17*a*) and the third pers. (*e.g.* וַיֹּאכַל, iii. 6*b*; וַיֹּאכַל, xxv. 34). The question to the woman, and the answer, ver. 13: *Then Jahveh Elohim said to the woman, What is this thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I ate.* The demonstrative זֹאת or זֶה makes the question in such cases more vivid, and gives it certain definite reference; when עשה follows, מַה־זֹּאת is usual (Ges. § 37. 1), Ex. xiv. 5; Judg. xv. 11; with other verbs, מַה־זֶּה, xxvii. 20; Judg. xviii. 24; 1 Sam. x. 11. The man had laid the blame upon the woman, she lays it upon the serpent. הִשִּׁיא means to deceive, to lead astray, to beguile any one, *i.e.* to represent to him that such and such an evil will not happen to him, 2 Chron. xxxii. 15; Jer. xxxvii. 9; comp. *ἐξαπατᾶν*, 2 Cor. xi. 3; 1 Tim. ii. 14. It is the right word for what the woman had experienced, but the wrong thing is that both did not first of all smite their own breasts. Every

subsequent human sin looks so like this original sin, because we have not only inherited the sinful nature of our first parents, but also the nature of their sin.

The judicial examination is now followed by the penal sentences. The first falls upon the tempter, vv. 14, 15: *And Jahveh Elohim said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between her seed and thy seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* The penal sentence begins with כִּי as the relative conjunction of the reason. אָרוּר (from ארר, a word imitative of the sound used under the indignant experience of insolent behaviour, comp. פֹּר, *detestari, abhorrere*[1]), similar to *κατ-άρ-ατος*, "accursed," and then also "deserving of a curse," is stronger than מְקֻלָּל (disesteemed, extremely depreciated, execrated). The Semite uses for such formulas of desire the simply assertive form of expression without an optative verb. The מִן of the two מכל is not comparative (more cursed than . . .) but selective, like *e.g.* Judg. v. 24. גָּחוֹן, belly, is an old word formed from גחן, to bend, like אָרוֹן from ארן. To go upon the belly is to crawl (comp. Sanscr. *uraga*, breast-goer = serpent); animals of this kind are, according to Lev. xi. 42, unclean. To eat dust does not mean the proper nourishment of the serpent, either here or Isa. lxv. 25 (a retrospect at the history of the fall), but, like Micah vii. 17, to lick the dust (comp. Ps. lxxii. 9; Isa. xlix. 23), the involuntary result of writhing in dust. כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ means the duration of the life of this serpent as the representative of its species. It is on the animal that the penal sentence is passed, its mode of life being judicially changed. The cunning animal, which as the instrument of an evil will had raised itself above

[1] Friedr. Delitzsch on the other hand, *Proleg.* 101: to curse = to enchant, after the Assyr. *arâru*, which means to curse, and is also the stem-word of *arru ša iṣṣûri*, bird-catcher, and *irritu*, sling.

God and His will, becomes a worm in the dust (*serpens*, from *serpere*, ἕρπειν). The serpent is the only animal among those having bony skeletons that goes upon its belly. Its punishment is analogous to that which our body suffers in consequence of sin. Both suffer as *organum animæ* or *spiritus peccantis*. A beast is not in itself responsible for its actions, yet it is punished when man has suffered any harm in life or body by its means, ix. 5; Ex. xxi. 28 sq.; comp. Lev. xx. 15 sq.; for the irrational creation is destined *for* man, and is, when it breaks through this barrier of its destination, visited with the judgment of God. The degradation of the serpent, ver. 14, is the punishment of its exalting itself against God, but the false relation into which it has entered with regard to man will also, according to ver. 15, be punished. The woman, having taken, in her encounter with the serpent, the step which decided the lot of mankind, is the representative of the whole race, and divine retribution puts, *i.e.* establishes and appoints, a relation, not merely of mutual inward antipathy, but also (Ps. cxxxix. 22) of actual feud, between the serpent and the woman, and not only between the present individuals, but between their respective descendants. And who shall conquer in this war thus made the law of subsequent history? "He (the seed of the woman) shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." For so we translate, though it is still esteemed questionable whether the verb שׁוּף has here the meaning of *conterere* (Syr. Samar. Saad. Pers., Ar. Erpen., Gr. Ven., Lth.) or that of *inhiare*, *i.e.* of hostile effort (LXX. τηρεῖν, which way of taking it is also that of Onkelos), or whether both meanings are in some manner at once applicable (Targ. Jer. i. and ii., which amalgamates, and Jerome who distributes them: *conteret . . . insidiaberis*). We decide against Kn. Baur, Ewald (§ 281*c*) and Dillmann, and with Hengstenberg, Rödiger, Fürst, Kalisch, Keil, Köhler, Schultz (comp. Hitzig on Job ix. 17), for the meaning *conterere;* for (1) *inhiare*, which is the meaning of שׁאף, has neither biblical nor post-biblical corroboration as that of שׁוּף, which occurs only in Judaic Aramæan in the sense of

"to blow." (2) The meaning *inhiare* is inadmissible, because no verb of hostile endeavour, such as רדף צוד צדה בקשׁ ארב, is combined with a double accusative; this construction with the accusative of the person and of the part or member (this second acc. always without the article) being peculiar to verbs of hostile action, such as הכּה, xxxvii. 21; Judg. xv. 8; 2 Sam. iii. 27; Ps. iii. 8; רצח, Deut. xxii. 26; מחץ, Deut. xxxiii. 11; רעה, Jer. ii. 16; Ges. § 139, note. (3) שוף has also the meaning *conterere* in Job ix. 17 (against which it is used in quite a different sense in Ps. cxxxix. 11, see the comm.), and (derived from √ שׁף, to rub) is very usual in Semitic (*e.g.* in Syriac, *DMZ.* xxix. 147). שוף is the Targum word for דכּא, טחן and שׁחק, שַׁפִּי (from שׁפא, to pound, to rub down) the Targum word for דִּכְּא (comp. Ps. li. 17, לֵב תְּבִיר וּשְׁפִי).[1] To this must be added, (4) that the meaning *συντρίβειν*, *conterere*, Rom. xvi. 20, has the actual condition of the sentence here passed preponderantly in its favour. For if both שוף here, and indeed both times (since the first must have the same meaning as the second, comp. xlix. 19), means "to use hostile effort," the result would be the statement devoid of promise, that man will attack the serpent in front, and the serpent the man from behind — a graphic description merely of their continued enmity. There would be no declaration that the contest would result in the victory of man; and even supposing it did so as a necessary consequence from the facts that a curse was pronounced upon the serpent, and that the contest was one ordained by God (Dillmann), it would be just on the chief matter that nothing would be said. If on the other hand we take שׁוּף to mean *conterere*, the first time by trampling, the second by biting, — for bites are always bruises as well, and the root-related نسف unites in itself the meanings *comminuere* and *mordere*,—

[1] The name of the serpent, יָעְכִּימָן, xlix. 17, Syr. שפופא, is on the other hand derived from שׁפף in its fundamental meaning to rub, viz. the ground = to creep, according to which the foot is in Assyrian called *šêpu*, as *terens*, *conterens*, *calcans*.

πλήσσειν and τύπτειν too are used of both stab and bite,—then the contest is designated by the repetition of a word, one expressing an act as strongly as possible, as a contest of mutual annihilation, and we obtain not merely an intimated but an openly pronounced promise of the final victory of the seed of the woman over the seed of the serpent, a promise which is a curse upon the serpent as peremptory as we expect. If the words are thus spoken in the sense of a final victory, the whole sentence has a hidden reverse side, by which, while including indeed the seed of the serpent, it is directed to that serpent which had plunged mankind into misery. The sentence applies in and with this serpent to Satan also, whose organ it had become. More is in question than a conflict with a noxious animal, viz. the conflict of mankind seduced, but yet not given up by God, with the seducer. The serpent creeping on its belly and writhing in the dust makes visible the degradation beneath all other creatures of Satan, who by the seduction of mankind filled up the measure of his iniquity; and the spiteful bite on the heel, with which in the midst of its overthrow it requites the bruising of its head, symbolizes the contest of mankind with the devil, and all who are ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου (πονηροῦ),[1] and therefore not so much the seed of the woman as of the serpent, and the decisive victory of mankind in which this contest is to issue. It is at first promised only that mankind will gain this victory, for הוּא refers to זרע אשה. But as the promise of victory speaks of victory over the serpent, from whom the temptation proceeded, and hence directly of victory over the original tempter, over ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος (Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2 = נחש הקדמון of the Midrash), the inference is obvious, that the seed of the woman would also be concentrated and culminate in the unity of a person, one in whom the antagonism would be enhanced to its extreme tension, the suffering encountered in the conflict with the tempter increased to the uttermost, and his overthrow completed by utter deprivation of

[1] Exactly thus Briggs (Prof. in New York) in *Messianic Prophecy* (1886), p. 76.

power.[1] It is however a mistake to think that הוּא has precisely a single personal meaning. The idea of הוּא is a circle, and Jesus the Christ or the King Messiah, who, as the Jerus. Targum declares, will bring final healing of the serpent's bite in the heel, is the centre of this circle, ever more and more increasingly manifested during the course of the history of redemption. Not till His appearing, who was to destroy the works of the devil, to triumph over the kingdom of the evil one, 1 John iii. 8, Col. ii. 15, Heb. ii. 14 sq., and to be the הוּא of the golden Passional, Isa. liii., was it made quite clear that by the victory of One was Satan to be bruised under the feet of all, Rom. xvi. 20. What was then brought to light had been already preformatively given in this primal promise, this Protevangel. Since זרע may just as well be understood individually as collectively (comp. iv. 25, xxi. 12 sq.; Gal. iii. 16), and it is not said that it shall be given to the man to beget, but to the woman to bring forth, that which shall bruise the serpent's head, the prophecy is designed by its form also to concur with its fulfilment. For it was necessary that Christ, to avoid first conquering in Himself the seed of the serpent, should be זרע אשה, *γενόμενος ἐκ γυναικός*, in a miraculously exclusive manner, a heavenly gift of grace deposited in the womb of a woman. This first prophecy of redemption is not only the most general and most indefinite; it is also, when regarded in the light of its fulfilment, the most comprehensive and the most profound.[2] "General, indefinite, obscure as the primæval age to which it belongs," says Drechsler, "it lies marvellously and sacredly on the threshold of the lost Paradise like an awe-inspiring sphinx before the ruins of a mysterious temple;" and the Son

[1] To the seed of the woman, not to the woman *ipsa*, according to the reading of the Vulgate, which Bellarmine and Passaglia, the champions of the doctrine of the *immaculata conceptio*, unscrupulously defend.

[2] *Hic sol consolationis oritur*, says Luther concerning it; see Böhl, *Christologie*, 1882, p. 71. The ancient synagogue agrees with the ecclesiastical interpretation of the Protevangel: the son of Pharez, Ruth iv. 18, *i.e.* the Messiah, shall restore the good state of the universe which is disturbed by the fall of man; see *Bereshith rabba*, ch. xii.; *Bamidbar rabba*, ch. xiii., and Targum Jer. i. on Gen. iii. 15.

of the Virgin was the first—we add—to solve by fulfilling it the enigma of this sphinx, which had been too difficult for all the saints and prophets.

The obverse side of the sentence upon the serpent is a curse upon him, the reverse a promise for mankind. Before the penal sentence upon man is pronounced, the mercy of God fashions the curse upon the tempter into hope for the tempted. And now follows the passing of sentence upon her who, first tempted, became herself a tempter, ver. 16: *To the woman He said: I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; with sorrow shalt thou bring forth children, and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.* The *inf. intens.* is, in distinction from the adverbially employed הַרְבֵּה, Ges. § 75, note 15, הַרְבָּה, like xvi. 10, xxii. 17. Frequency of conception being no punishment, but on the contrary the presupposition of the blessing of children, עִצְּבוֹנֵךְ וְהֵרֹנֵךְ is, if not a hendiadys: the sorrows connected with thy conception (Samar.), still to be understood as a placing in juxtaposition of the general and a particular; thy sorrow, and especially thy conception with its sorrows; for conception (הֵרָיוֹן, inflected הֵרֹנֵךְ, from הֵרָיֹנֵךְ, for a chief form הֵרוֹן = *hirrôn*, from a הרר = הרה, does not exist) is not here regarded as motherhood, but as the wearisome bearing of the fruit of the body. עִצָּבוֹן (= עִצְבוֹן, as הֵרָיוֹן = הֵרְיוֹן with the fore-tone, like הֲגִיוֹן, זְכָרוֹן, חֲזִיוֹן, from עצב, عصب, *torquere, laborare*) is meant more generally of the troubles combined with the female constitution, apart from conception. The sentence judicially transforms the original condition; the woman has transgressed against the will of God for the sake of earthly enjoyment, she is punished for this by her sexual life being involved in miseries of all kinds. God's original will was that she should become a mother, but it was a punishment that she should henceforth bring forth children בְּעֶצֶב (comp. בְּעֹצֶב in the derivation of the proper name יָעְבֵּץ, 1 Chron. iv. 9), *i.e.* in the midst of pains, which would threaten her life and that of the child. The God-offending independence with which

the woman acts in her encounter with the tempter and then sinfully overcomes her husband is punished in what is next declared to her. Her reward for this is the almost morbid and continual desire she should experience towards the man in spite of the perils and pains of child-birth (*DMZ.* xxxix. 606 sq.), that natural attraction which will not let her free herself from him, that weak dependence which impels her to lean upon the man, and to let herself be sheltered and completed by him. תְּשׁוּקָה seems related to the Arab. *šauḳ*, longing, desire, properly *attachment;* but though שׁ sometimes remains also in the Arab. ش (*DMZ.* xxiv. 667), a derivation consistent with the prevailing transmutation of consonants is offered: ساق means, as does also שׂוּק, to urge, to impel, whence תשוקה (here and iv. 7; Sol. Song vii. 10), impulse, *i.e.* the emotion or passion which urges to anything.[1] The woman will henceforth involuntarily follow the leading of the man, and be subject even against her will to his dominion. The subordination of the woman to the man was intended from the beginning; but now that the harmony of their mutual wills in God is destroyed, this subordination becomes subjection. The man may command as master, and the woman is bound externally and internally to obey. That slavish subjection of the woman to the man which was customary in the ancient world, and still is so in the East, and which revealed religion has gradually made more tolerable and consistent with her human dignity, is the result of sin. The sentence on the man now follows, vers. 17–19: *And to Adam He said: Because thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, which I had commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; and thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, until thou returnest to the ground, for out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return.* Here for

[1] LXX. ἡ ἀποστροφή σου, as if it had been תשובתך (comp. LXX. 1 Sam. vii. 17

the first time, as subsequently ver. 21, iv. 25, v. 1, אָדָם is used as a proper name, for at i. 26, ii. 5, the article was inadmissible, and at ii. 20 it was purposely omitted; but here it would be quite arbitrary to punctuate וְלָאָדָם instead of וּלְאָדָם. The prominent importance of this third sentence, which includes the woman as Adam's helpmate, is shown by the solemn form in which the reasons for the decision are previously stated. On וַתֹּאכַל (and thou hast eaten) in the prodosis with its two Pashtas, the first of which marks the tone syllable, see above on ver. 12. The first part of the sentence affects the labour and self-maintenance of man. The curse of sin consists first of all in the circumstance that the ground, far from producing the necessaries of life with the facility and abundance of Paradise, now requires wearisome exertion, and often renders this vain. In place of the garden planted by God, the field, where the seed sown encounters weeds of all kinds which threaten to choke and destroy it, is appointed to man. עִבּוּר (fruit = effect and consequence), elsewhere usual of the motive for good, stands here as at viii. 21 of the motive to punish. עִצָּבוֹן as already remarked, *Pesachim* 118*a* (see Goldziher, *Mythos bei den Hebräern*, p. 43 sq.), is fuller and stronger than עֶצֶב, 16*a*, used of birth-labour. The form תֹּאכְלֶנָּה has here, as Ezek. iv. 12, Khateph instead of simple Sheva, according to the rule of Ben-Asher. The suffix refers to הָאֲדָמָה, the earth being, as at Isa. i. 7, synecdochically put for the produce of the earth. קוֹץ וְדַרְדַּר are a pair of words, occurring only here and Hos. x. 8, for which Isaiah gives שָׁמִיר וָשַׁיִת. The herb of the field and bread (obtained from bread-corn, Job xxviii. 5; Ps. civ. 14) are the contrast to the flowers of the garden and their fruits. Sweat is called זֵעָה, not from זוּעַ, *concutere*, in which case it would be written זְוֵעָה, like שְׁיֵבָה, אֵיבָה, but as the synonymous יֵזַע, Ezek. xliv. 18, shows, from יזע, זעע, *manare*, like דֵּעָה from ידע, שֵׁנָה from ישן. אַפֶּיךָ is purposely used in conjunction with it instead of פָּנֶיךָ, because the face of one breathless and panting is intended. *Moses qui brevitati studet*—remarks Calvin—*suo more pro com-*

muni vulgi captu attingere contentus fuit quod magis apparuit, ut sub uno exemplo discamus, hominis vitio inversum fuisse totum naturæ ordinem. The curse upon arable land is, as other passages of Scripture show, only a portion of the δουλεία τῆς φθορᾶς, to which the natural world has since been subjected, Rom. viii. 18 sqq. All nature stands, as a matter of fact, in the closest actual relation to man, who is, in virtue of his personality, which is at once spiritual and material, the link between it and God. All that affects man affects at the same time that world of nature which was ordained for common development with himself. Man having fallen from communion with God, the world of nature became like him, its appointed head, subject to vanity, and needed as he did redemption and restoration to recover its lost condition and high destination. Man, and with him nature, will, though by a long and indirect path, at length attain to the ἐλευθερία τῆς δόξης (Rom. viii. 21), *i.e.* be free and glorified. Meanwhile the curse which has fallen upon the world has a reverse side of blessing for man. The curse is not peremptory but pedagogic. Nature in the resistance which she offers to man, and in the harm which she inflicts on him, is not only the faithful executrix of the Divine wrath, but also his instructress in the discretion which strictly and seriously opposes his pretensions to absolutism. Labour in the sweat of the brow is a salutary means of discipline to awaken aspirations after heaven. Though men became through the fall τέκνα ὀργῆς, Eph. ii. 3, still they are not κατάρας τέκνα, 2 Pet. ii. 14; they are, as Bernard of Clairvaux says, *filii iræ*, but not *filii furoris*. The penal sentences are, according to Gregory the Great, *sagittæ, amaræ ex dulci manu Dei.* This applies also in truth to the setting in force of the threat of death, though what God purposes for man by means of death and after death must remain hidden. A return to earth, to dust, which applies to the woman also, as taken from man, and so indirectly from the earth, is to be the painful issue of existence. Instead of שׁוּב אֶל־הֶעָפָר, Eccles. iii. 20, comp. xii. 7, it is here said שׁוּב אֶל־עָפָר, like Job

xxxiv. 15, שוב עַל־עפר, return to, *i.e.* become again dust (comp. השיב עַד־דַּכָּא, *in pulverem redigere*, Ps. xc. 3). The Samar. has in all three texts: to thy dust, *i.e.* thou shalt return to the dust of thy origin (comp. אל־עֲפָרָם, Ps. civ. 29, לְאַדְמָתוֹ, that is, to the אדמה from which he was taken, Ps. cxlvi. 4). The threat of death, ii. 17, was not תּוּמָת but תָּמוּת. Hence it is no contradiction to it that death did not enter as an instantaneous act, but as an instantaneously begun process, whose final issue is here proclaimed to man. Men died when they fell away to sin, as, according to Hos. xiii. 1, Ephraim died when he fell away to Baal. Their life is henceforth the slow yet certain maturing of that germ of death which they bear within. Man by sin withdrew himself from communion with God, and his nature from the sway of the spirit, and is now a natural structure exposed to the coming and departing of natural life around him, and finally to dissolution. His path, which was to tend upwards, is now to lead downwards into the darkness of the grave and Hades. He can only attain to immortality, if his communion with God, the source of life, is restored. The way to this is indicated in the Protevangel. It is the way of conflict even unto blood with evil, and of faith in the promise of God.

Adam's first act of faith, ver. 20: *And Adam called the name of his wife Chawwa; for she became the mother of all living.* This verse, says Budde, has for a long time (*i.e.* since Ewald) been acknowledged to be a later interpolation. But even supposing that it had not originally stood in this connection, it is still an integral member of the structure we are considering. The woman has acquired a new importance for the man by means of the promise directly and indirectly intermingled with the Divine penal sentences. The creative promise of the propagation of the race is not to be abolished by the fall, but on the contrary to subserve the deliverance of man, the victory over the power of evil being promised to the seed of the woman. Consequently, in the presence of the death with which he is threatened, the woman has become to Adam the pledges of

both the continuance and the victory of the race. It is therefore an act of faith, an embracing of the promise interwoven in the decree of wrath, that he calls his wife's name חַוָּה. This חַוָּה=חַיָּה (according to the formations הַוָּה, עַוָּה) means life, LXX. *ζωή*, not preserver (comp. חַיָּה, xix. 32, 34), *i.e.* propagator of life, Symm. *ζωογόνος*, for the rejection of the מ, in the *part.* of *Piel*, is unusual, and only occurs in the *part.* of *Pual*, and perhaps in the *part. Pil.* of verbs עֵי. The woman is called life, as a fountain of life from which the life of the human race is continually renewed, just as Noah, נֹחַ, is called rest as the bringer of rest (Köhler). The name חַוָּה is not a name like the God-given one *γυνή*=*genitrix* and *femina*, which Corssen derives from *feo* (*fuo*, *φύω*), Curtius from *fe-lare*, to suckle, but a proper name which, as *mnemosynon gratiæ promissæ* (Melanchthon), declares the special importance of this first of women to the human race and its history. Hence it is explained retrospectively from its fulfilment: for she became אֵם כָּל־חָי, a mother (ancestress) of every individual in whom the race lives on;[1] the life of the race which proceeded from her is, in the midst of the death of individuals, ever re-originating, and fulfilment has thus sealed the meaning of this name of faith and hope. Adam's act of faith is followed by an act of grace on the part of God, ver. 21: *And Jahveh Elohim made for Adam and his wife coats of skins, and clothed them.* כָּתְנוֹת עוֹר does not mean coats *ad cutem velandam* (Trg.); LXX. correctly has *χιτῶνας δερματίνους*, coats made of skins of beasts, like כְּלֵי עוֹר, leathern utensils, Lev. xiii. 52; כָּתְנוֹת is the connective form of כֻּתָּנוֹת, *χιτῶνες*, perhaps from כתן, of like meaning with Heb. and Assyr. כתם, Ethiop. *kadana*, to cover, like *toga* from *tegere*, in which case the Aram. כִּיתָן, Arab. كَتَّان, flax, must be a secondary denominative formation.[2] The Thorah—says the Talmud *Sota* 14*a* with reference to our

[1] Hence men are called in Æthiop. *eguâla emma ḥejâu*, *i.e.* בני אם חי.

[2] The Arab. قُطْن, cotton, Span. *algodon*, mid. high Germ. *cottun*, Eng. *cotton*, whence our *kattûn*=cotton stuff, is not akin to it.

passage and Deut. xxxiv. 6—begins and ends with גמילות חסדים, manifestations of kindly interest. That God should (in some sort of indirect manner; comp. xxxvii. 3) Himself provide for the covering of nakedness, is a proof both that it is really a thing to be ashamed of, and at the same time that He will not cast man off, low as he has fallen. But this clothing reaches its highest significance in the fact that a life must suffer the violence of death to furnish it for man. In consequence of sin, men were in need of a covering to hide their nakedness. Ashamed of this, they made an attempt, but an insufficient and inappropriate one, to cover it. Now God Himself provides them with a covering made from the skin of slain animals, *i.e.* at the cost of innocent lives, at the expense of innocently shed blood. The whole work of salvation was herein prefigured. This clothing is a foundation laid at the beginning, which prophetically points to the middle of the history of salvation, the clothing with the righteousness of the God-man, and to its end, the clothing with the glorified resurrection body in the likeness of the God-man.

Removal of the first created pair from Paradise, vv. 22, 23: *And Jahveh Elohim said: Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil; and now, that he may not stretch forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and live for ever—so Jahveh Elohim sent him forth out of the garden Eden, to till the ground whence he was taken.* The suffix of ממנו (as written by the Jews of Tiberias מִמֶּנּוּ, which may mean "of him" and "of us," while the Babylonian mode of writing on the contrary distinguishes מִמֶּנּוּ from מִמֵּנּוּ) is not singular, as Onk. and the Samar. understand it (*a se* = independent, free), but plural, as in אַחַד מֵהֶם, 1 Kings xix. 2 and elsewhere; the connective form occurring elsewhere also in closely connected speech like xlviii. 19, need seem the less strange, since ממנו is a virtual genitive (*unus nostrum*). The plural is communicative, God comprises Himself, as i. 26, xi. 7, with the בני אלהים as, Isa. vi. 8, with the seraphim; here indeed there follows immediately, ver. 24. the mention of other such

heavenly beings. What the serpent promised to man has indeed to a certain extent come to pass. Man now finds himself in a state of decided moral determination, such as belongs to God and the families of angels who surround Him. But he has attained it by having decided against God and not owned his limitation by God the all-limiting, but made himself autonomous. In saying this, it is presupposed that this first act of self-decision was such, not only for the first human pair, but also for the whole human race, and as history and experience confirm, of decisive influence upon their nature and lot. The resolve of God follows, as in iv. 11, with a conclusive וְעַתָּה. Its motive is given by פֶּן before what is to be avoided. But instead of the וְאַשְׁלְחֵהוּ, which we expect, the principal sentence proceeds unconnectedly to the execution of the purpose with similar haste, as at iv. 8, xv. 9 sq.; Josh. ix. 21; Jonah ii. 11; 2 Chron. xxxii. 24, i. 2 sq.; also Isa. xlviii. 11; and in the New Testament, Matt. ix. 6; Acts i. 4 sq.,—all similar passages in which the expected progress of the discourse is overtaken. Man is, as שִׁלַּח states, sent away from Paradise, and that forcibly, *i.e.* he is turned out, lest he should wickedly presume to take also of the tree of life and live (וְחַי, here perfect of the consequence: *et vivat;* comp. חַי, *vixit*, v. 5) for ever. There was—for this is the meaning of the tree of life—in Paradise a sacramental means of transferring man without death to a higher stage of physical life.[1] From the participation of this food of immortality, which men would only partake of to their own judgment, they were now excluded, and, so to speak, excommunicated. The obvious question, according to Budde: What if men had eaten of it before sinning or immediately after? is one of over curiosity, as are all such questions with reference to *futuribilia*. In fact they had not eaten of it. Nor had anything been said

[1] The author of Proverbs says of wisdom, that it is such a עֵץ חַיִּים, Prov. iii. 16–18; that wisdom which, according to ch. viii., was with God before He made the world and by which He made the world; comp. John vi. 48.

to them concerning the tree of life. The enjoyment of it was without their knowing it—for this object was involved in the trial of their freedom—reserved as the recompense of their standing the test. But in the condition in which he now found himself there was no other way to life for man but that of hardship and tribulation. He was now *glebæ adscriptus.* He must till the earth in which he will after a short span decay. In the soil which he turns over with his spade, he has before his eyes both his origin and his future. His driving out and the impediment to his return, ver. 24: *And He drove out the man, and He stationed at the east of the garden of Eden the cherubim and the flame of a whirling sword, to keep the way of the tree of life.* In place of וַיְשַׁלְּחֵהוּ, which has the meaning of sending away, and only according to the connection that of forcible removal, we have here וַיְגָרֶשׁ as the stronger and less ambiguous *expulit* (comp. Ex. xi. 1). We have translated "the cherubim" and not "the cherubs," because the idea, not so much of an external plurality as of a unity including in itself a plurality, as in אלהים (of God) and also in תרפים, seems here combined with the plural כְּרֻבִים. The cherubim here appear as the guard of Paradise, just as, according to the Indian and Old Persian notion, higher beings are placed to keep watch over the Soma (Haoma), which makes those who partake of it immortal.[1] More obvious still is the comparison with the griffins, who guard the gold of the north (Herodot. iv. 13, 27; comp. iii. 116), and whose name γρυπές is similar in sound to that of the cherubs. The cherub also resembles the griffin in another function; in Ps. xviii. 10, Jahveh floats along עַל־כְּרוּב, the cherub here appearing as His vehicle, just as in Ezekiel's Mercabah vision it forms the main portion of the chariot which bears the throne of God (temptingly suggesting the comparison כרוב=רכוב, Ps. civ. 3). In the *Prometheus* too of Aeschylus (ver. 286, comp. 395), Oceanus comes flying τὸν

[1] The Soma, which furnishes the drink of the gods and is itself deified, is, botanically regarded, the *asclepias acidia.*

πτερυγωκῆ τόνδ' οἰωνόν (a griffin, according to Plutarch and Eustathius), γνώμῃ στομίων ἄτερ εὐθύνων. It is true that there is no passage so suggestive as Ps. xviii. 10 (comp. xix. 1) for the conception of the cherubic figure. According to this, the cherub appears as the mythically incorporated storm-cloud, in which God the Thunderer appears, as the seraphim are the mythically incorporated serpent-shaped lightning (Riehm, *De notione Cherubum symbolica*, 1864; Goldziher, *Mythus bei den Hebräern*, p. 224 sq.; Cheyne, "On the Seraphim and Cherubim," in his *Comm. on Isaiah;* Friedr. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 154, and elsewhere). Ezekiel gives testimony to the connection of the cherubic image with heathen mythology in his lamentation for the king of Tyre, xxviii. 11 sqq., by combining the mountain of God and the garden of God, and making the cherub appear as the guardian of God's holy mountain walking in the midst of fiery stones, which are conceived of as a pavement or (according to Riehm) a circumvallation of the Divine dwelling. But the cherub, though a creation of Semitic heathenism, which deified the powers of nature, underwent a thorough change of form and significance when revealed religion admitted it into the sphere of its contemplation. (1) Its form is different, for the cherub nowhere appears entirely in the shape of a bird or entirely in that of a beast, like the Babylonio-Assyrian winged bull-god, for whose name *alpu* Lenormant has discovered the synonym *kirûbu* (the stem-word of which is considered by Fr. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 184, to be the verb *karâbu*, to be great, powerful). Of the cherubs of the ark of the covenant in the Priest-codex (indirectly attested besides only 1 Sam. iv. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2), nothing further is told us than the direction of their faces and wings. They were, according to all appearance, of human form, which is also corroborated by the two standing colossal cherubs of Solomon's temple (1 Kings vi. 23–28). The cherubic form of Ezekiel on the other hand is new and peculiar; it cannot be used either to give an idea of the cherubim of the ark of

the covenant nor of those at the gate of Paradise. The cherubs of the Mercabah vision are forms compounded of a man, a lion, a bull, and an eagle, for which is said, x. 14: cherub, man, lion and eagle. This shows perhaps that the bull, שׁוֹר, is thought of as the fundamental element; for כרוב=שור would answer to *alpu* = *kirûbu*. Different again is the representation of the New Testament Apocalypse iv. 7, developed from that of Ezekiel, and in which the faces of a lion, an ox, a man and an eagle are distributed to four heavenly living beings (ζῶα = חַיּוֹת, in Ezek., for which the name of cherub does not make its appearance till ix. 3), each of which has six wings. The similar names convey the notion of similar beings; but their nature and appearance are, as belonging to another world, beyond human apprehension, while their artistic representations and visionary renderings being dissimilar, are therefore only symbolic. To this must be added, (2) that revealed religion, proceeding upon the view that there is a heaven, where God is surrounded by the sons of God (angels) and other superhuman beings, who unite in themselves the special excellences of the highest stages of created life, has lowered the cherubs, as well as other powers of nature (*δυνάμεις*) deified by heathenism, to powers subordinate to God the Lord of hosts (*κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων*). The בני אלהים serve God as מלאכים, and these חיות too serve His self-attestation. They belong to the nearest surrounding of Him who is enthroned in heaven, are His bearers when He reveals Himself in His glory in the world, are the guardians of the place of His presence against all that is incongruous, and without the right of approaching it. Consequently the cherubs of the Bible are to be regarded by us neither as incorporate natural phenomena nor as purely subjective creations of the imagination, but as actual supersensuous heavenly beings. Their sensible representation however, which varies according to the function in which they appear, is subject to the influence of mythological tradition, from which revealed religion derives also sundry traits of its

figures of speech, its imagery and its symbolical visions. Beside the cherubim, stationed on the threshold of Paradise, is mentioned the flame (לַהַט, from לָהַט, related with לעט, to consume, burn, and scorch; comp. לֵהָבָה, לַבָּח, with לבלב, *lambĕre*) of the sword, with its threatening circular motion. The blade of the sword is a flame (comp. Nah. iii. 3, "flame of sword and lightning of lance"). We are not told that it was in the hand of the cherubim as in that of the angel, Num. xxii. 23, but it is conceived of, as in Isa. xxxiv. 5, as an independent penal power. V. Hofmann (*Schriftbewis*, i. 365) aptly compares the "fire like the appearance of torches" which in Ezekiel's vision, i. 13, goes up and down among the four חיות.

THE BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY OUT OF PARADISE, CH. IV.

Adam and Eve are now out of Paradise. They were driven eastwards, and therefore had it to the west of them. Not where the sun rose, but where it vanished, was the place of their former communion with God. Every sunset would remind them of what they had lost (v. Hofm.). Still Paradise and the tree of life were not destroyed; and hence the hope of recovering what they had forfeited was not cut off from them.

The history of the first pair now extends to the history of the family. The duality of man and wife now grows into the triad of man, wife and child, and to the connubial are added the parental and fraternal ties and that of kinship, and these give rise to a variety of new ethical relations. At the same time the two contrasts of sin and faith in the promise, which henceforth rule all history till the end pledged by iii. 15, are developed.

The first seed of the woman, ver. 1: *And the man knew his wife Chawwa; and she conceived, and bare Cain, and said, I have produced a man with Jahveh.* From the fact that we have not here וַיֵּדַע, Rashi infers that the verb is used in the pluperfect sense, which Heidenheim confirms by comparison

with xxii. 1; 2 Kings viii. 1. In these passages however the perfect precedes the chief historical tense (*imperf. consec.*) as an accessory fact, which describes the circumstances and acts as a basis. The case is the same as with פקד, *visitavit*, in xxi. 1, and not as with אמר, which means *promiserat*, in the same verse. Hence it cannot be syntactically inferred from יָדַע, that what is stated had taken place in the Paradisaic epoch. If regarded also according to the matter, it is far more probable that the narrator intends to say the contrary, viz. that procreation did not begin till now that man was out of Paradise, till now that mankind having come to a moral decision, they had advanced from a state of childhood to the maturity which is the prerequisite for the consummation of marriage. The work of procreation is common both to man and to animals, but ידע never occurs in this sense of the animals, for that which in the latter is a necessary and purely sensual process is in the case of man a free act for which he is morally responsible, and one which, if he has not sunk to the level of the brutes, is produced by love, which rises to the supersensuous and is consecrated thereby. When Eve saw her first-born son, she exclaimed (for so is the occasion and meaning of naming him related) קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת־יהוה. The verb קנה combines the notions of *κτίζειν* and *κτᾶσθαι*, *procreare* (*condere*) and *acquirere*; for only the owner's own work or production is his true property and not a merely accidental possession. Hence we may here translate: I have produced, or I have got for my own—for both are implied in קניתי. But is את here the sign of the accusative or a preposition? The first impression is that אֶת־יהוה is an explanatory apposition to אִישׁ, for a second accusative with אֵת more nearly defining a first is often found, *e.g.* vi. 10, xxvi. 34; Isa. vii. 17; Ezek. iv. 1. Accordingly Umbreit explains: I have obtained a man, Jahveh, *i.e.* I have gained a man, through whom I have become a mother, Jahveh Himself, whose power and goodness have helped me herein. But since the name קַיִן is to be explained, it is not Jahveh, but the new-born child, which is

the object obtained. It is impossible however that the words should be so understood as to make her regard herself as *Deipara*, as is done by Rörer, following Luther's own explanation of the passage in papers of 1543 and 1545, and in his edition of the Bible of 1546, where he adopts the meaning, I have the man, the LORD, and by several moderns (Philippi, Boehl, Hoelem. in the *Neuen Bibelstudien*, 1866). Impossible, for the primitive promise does not yet declare that the conqueror of the tempter shall be God and man in one person, and if the words of Eve could have such a meaning, her knowledge would exceed even that of Mary. The impression nevertheless that אֶת־יְהוָה is a second accusative is so strong, that the Jerus. Targum translates: I have obtained a man, the angel of Jahveh; but the angel of God does not appear in history and consciousness till patriarchal times. In conformity with both time and matter it may be explained: I have obtained a man, *i.e.* a male individual, hence a man-child and therewith Jahveh, viz. communion with Him, since He has so wonderfully favoured me. But קנה with God as object is not biblical, and why should not אֵת be a preposition? It is true that we have no other example of אֶת־יְהוָה, "with Jahveh," but עִם־אֱלֹהִים occurs only 1 Sam. xiv. 45; and יְהוָה אִתּוֹ, xxxix. 3 and elsewhere, proves, if it were necessary, the possibility of this form. Ancient translators who have translated by διά (LXX.), *per* (Jer.), מִן־קֳדָם (Onk.), מִן (Samar.), have all understood אֵת of God as helper and giver, as it also appears in the Babylonian proper name *Itti-Marduk-banû*, *i.e.* begotten with Merodach. According to this, the correction מֵאֵת for אֵת, though convenient, is not necessary. The choice of the name of God (comp. on the contrary, 25*b*) is not without significance. Eve by this first birth, this issue of the as yet unknown and mysterious process of pregnancy and of the pains of parturition, was transported as by a great marvel into a state of joyous astonishment, and her joy was greatly exalted by the circumstance that the promise of Jahveh concerning the seed of the woman seemed to her to be thus fulfilled.

According to this, the name קַיִן means acquisition (with the help of Jahveh); it is formed from קנן, قَانَ (related with בנן), to set up, establish, prepare (especially forge), which is of similar root with קנה, قَنَا.

The birth of Abel and the different vocations of the brothers, ver. 2: *And she bore again his brother Hebel. And Hebel was a keeper of sheep, and Cain a tiller of the ground.* A second child, a brother of Cain, but not a twin brother (Reuss), though וַתֹּסֶף is not repeated (comp. xxx. 10, 12, 21), received the name הֶבֶל, which is not designated as one given him from the beginning. Since Oppert the word has on the Assyriological side been compared with the Assyr. *ablu* (constr. *abal*), which means son; but if the name meant nothing else, it would have suited the first-born as the first child of man, while as the name of the second it would be without significance. As found in Hebrew, it means nothingness, and is the expression of disappointed hope, whether as declaring the vanity, the nothingness of human life in general apart from God and His promise, or the nothingness of this man whose life was to last but as a breath (הֶבֶל like Ps. xxxix. 6, Job vii. 16), to pass away as quickly as a breath. The brothers when grown up divide between them the labour most necessary for their subsistence. צאן (Assyr. *sênu* from the verb צאן, *ṣaânu*, to be gentle, yielding [1]) is the collective appellation of tame small cattle, of sheep and goats. The farmer is called עֹבֵד אֲדָמָה, as in the Latin *agricola*. In iii. 17 sq. God directed man to agriculture, and the clothing of man with skins of animals by God, consecrated the rearing of cattle, the purpose of which was the obtaining of milk. For milk is indeed animal nourishment, but not nourishment obtained by the destruction of animal life. Whether and how far the different dispositions of the brothers co-operated in their choice of a calling must remain undecided. The offerings of the brothers, vv. 3, 4*a*: *And it came to pass after the lapse of some time, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering to Jahveh. And Hebel also brought on his part of*

[1] Friedr. Delitzsch, *Hebrew Language*, p. 46 f.

the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof. With מִקֵּץ יָמִים the author transports us into the midst of the vocations of the two men; מקץ, from the end onwards, like viii. 6, and ימים, like xl. 4, comp. Num. ix. 22, a long time, hence after the end of an indefinite, a long time. מִנְחָה, not from נחה=הִנְחָה, which is no sacrificial word, but from מנח, منح, to present, is an all-comprising appellation of sacrifice (here, as *e.g.* Judg. vi. 18, 1 Sam. ii. 17, of a bloody sacrifice also), which has as the ultimate basis of its notion the *sacratio* and *oblatio*, and is therefore first ἱερεῖον, then δῶρον or προσφορά. בְּכֹרוֹת means the firstlings of animals, as בְּכָרִים does first-born sons, and בִּכּוּרִים first-fruits. The ו of וּמֵחֶלְבֵהֶן unites the particular to the general, like iii. 16; and indeed of their חֲלָבִים. For the ב *raphatum* with Tsere marks ומחלבהן as a defectively written plural, like Nah. ii. 8, and like the frequent אֱלֹהֵם; the sing. is חֵלֶב, *ḥilb* (from חלב, to scrape off, to loosen, to cover by redeeming), to be well distinguished from חָלָב, *ḥalab*, milk (from חלב, حلب, to draw, to milk). But whether חלבים here means pieces of fat or the fattest animals, and therefore that the offering of Abel has the character of the shelamim or whole offering, is already disputed in *Sebachim* 116*a*. It cannot however be proved that חלבים may mean fattest animals (Keil). We have therefore to admit, with R. Eliezer in the Talmud, that Abel offered to God the fat of the firstlings of his flock. That the brothers offered by the direction of God is not said, and it is without Scripture proof to refer the sacrifice, as do Thiersch and Goethe, to Divine institution. The very name מנחה bears not upon obligation but spontaneity; and the circumstance that Cain was the first to make an offering leads us to infer that it is not the fulfilment of a Divine command, but an act resulting from a more or less pure feeling of dependence which is here in question. The different reception of the two offerings, 4*b*, 5: *And Jahveh looked upon Hebel and his offering: and upon Cain and his offering He did not look.* As it is not said that Abel himself kindled his offering, it appears that

the visible sign of look of favour (comp. the look from the pillar of fire and cloud, Ex. xiv. 24) consisted in the kindling by miraculous fire of Abel's offering (as in Judg. vi. 21; 1 Kings xviii. 38; 1 Chron. xxi. 26; 2 Chron. vii. 1–3). Theodotion translates plainly: *καὶ ἐνεπύρισεν ὁ Θεός*. But the narrator does not say this, and certainly does not mean it, but scrupulously abstains from all confusion of periods. But what is the reason that the Lord accepts Abel's offering and not Cain's? Both were offering in accordance with their callings and possessions. But Abel brings the firstlings of his flock, and of these the fat pieces, thus depriving himself in God's honour of the first and the best. Cain on the other hand brings of the fruit of the ground (הָאֲדָמָה, perhaps purposely, not אַדְמָתוֹ), and therefore the first and the best. It is not ~~however~~ the gifts themselves in their externalism, but the inward disposition of the persons therein manifested, which determines the conduct of God. The narrative designedly keeps the persons and the offerings apart. The offering of Abel was the expression of heartfelt gratitude, or as the Epistle to the Hebrews, designating self-divesting love according to its root, says, xi. 4, it was the expression of faith. More than this is not to be derived from the narrative, if we regard it in its own light and not in the light of the subsequent law of sacrifice—a proceeding of questionable authority. The impression upon Cain, 5*b*: *And Cain burned with anger, and his countenance fell.* The *impf. apoc. Kal* וַיִּחַר has, like וַיִּשַׁע, on account of the guttural, a helping Pathach instead of a helping Segol. Furious anger is meant; but it is unnecessary here and Num. xvi. 15, Jonah iv. 1, to supply אַפּוֹ. The inward heat of passion is manifested by the falling of the countenance, the gestures of angry brooding, of gloomy moroseness (comp. the *Hiph.*, to cause the countenance to fall, Jer. iii. 12 and Job xxix. 24). The Divine warning, vv. 6, 7: *And Jahveh said unto Cain, Why dost thou burn with anger? and why is thy countenance fallen? Is there not lifting up, if thou doest well? And if thou doest not well, sin is a croucher at*

the door. And unto thee is its desire, but thou shouldst rule over it. God seeks by private remonstrance to bring him to his senses concerning the danger that threatens him. The question, ver. 6, is put to him to direct his attention to his own heart, and to the roots there to be found of his distorted gestures. In חָרָה לְךָ the tone is drawn back to the penultima of חרה, but as always in the simple verb without a following *Dagesh conjunctum*. In ver. 7 there are only two more explanations to be considered besides that given by our translation. 1. Arnheim's and Kamphausen's: Is not sin at the door, whether thou bringest better offerings or not? But שְׂאֵת has not in itself the meaning *offerre*, it can only acquire this sense by the addition of some more particular definition, as in Ezek. xx. 31. 2. שאת may, according to the phrase נשא פנים, be understood, to accept the countenance or person of any one, to make oneself acceptable (xix. 21, xxxii. 21, and elsewhere; comp. שאת, Prov. xviii. 5); if thou doest well, does not a favourable reception on the part of God take place? as Ephrem glosses it: ܐܶܬܩܰܒ̈ܠ, I, *i.e.* (then) accept and receive thee. But wherever שאת is used without an addition, it means neither *oblatio* nor *acceptio*, still less *remissio peccati* (Onkelos), but *elatio;* and the reverse of נפל פניך leads to this meaning, thus: mayst thou not if thou doest well lift up thy countenance—היטיב produces courage, which is reflected in a cheerful, willingly raised countenance. The Hiph. היטיב, as intrinsically transitive, means *bene agere* (*facere*), which may however be equally said of inward good disposition as of external good action. That Cain was angry with his brother because of the favourable reception of his offering was the point in which he did evil, and this secret evil-doing, known only to God, predisposed him to an external open act of sin. חַטָּאת being fem., בֶּתַח is conceived of as substantival: Sin is thought of as a beast of prey, and indeed (comp. 1 Pet. v. 8) as a lion, which in Arabic is called *er-râbiḍ* or *er-rabbâḍ*.[1]

[1] LXX. translates as though the reading were: לְנִתְחַ חַטָּאת רֹבֵץ; see on the bias towards the ceremonial law shown by this twisting of the text, A. Furst in *DMZ.* xxxv. 134-138.

When man has once made room for evil within, there is but one step from inward to outward evil-doing; the sinful act crouches greedily like a beast of prey at the door of his heart till he shall step out and fall a victim to it. In the concluding words בּוֹ refers to the croucher, by which figure sin, as impelling to its own incorporation in an outward act, is represented. We certainly expect that God should rather require of Cain that he should suppress the passion fermenting within him; but the ruling over sin demanded from him consists in keeping closed the door which still forms a barrier between the ill-feeling and the criminal act, and in thus struggling to keep down sinful thoughts lest he should be driven by them into crime. Moral self-control is so far possible to the natural man even since the fall.

The first murder, ver. 8: *And Cain said to his brother; and it came to pass, that as they were in the field, Cain rose up against Hebel his brother, and slew him.* What did he say to him? Tuch, Baumgarten, Dr. supply "it," referring to what preceded, which is syntactically possible, for אמר is sometimes followed, not by direct speech, but by a mere acc., xx. 3, xliv. 16, and this acc. has sometimes to be supplied, Ex. xix. 25; 2 Chron. xxxii. 24. But Cain would not have talked much about that voice of God in his conscience, nay, his act shows that he crushed its impression. What then did he say to Abel? This question is escaped by reading, with Böttcher, Knobel, Olshausen, instead of ויאמר, וישמר: he lay in wait (like 2 Sam. xi. 16; comp. Job xiv. 16)—a happy conjecture, if one were needed. We have here however a like phenomenon with iii. 22 sq.: the narrator, hastening past what Cain said, forthwith informs us of its being carried into execution. What Cain said is, like what Solomon said, 2 Chron. i. 2, and what Isaiah said, 2 Chron. xxxii. 24, to be perceived from its results. He said נֵלְכָה הַשָּׂדֶה (comp. Sol. Song vii. 11), as the ellipsis is supplied by LXX. Targ. Jer. I. and II., Samar. in all three texts, Syr. Aq. It. Jerome. We need not suppose that the words נלכה השדה have fallen out

by mistake (Dillmann), perhaps by the eye wandering to the succeeding member of the sentence terminating in השדה, and so *per ὁμοιοτέλευτον* (Schrader). The invitation to go out into the field was the foundation of his plan of murder. There in the solitude of the field he rose against Abel (אֶל, *sensu hostili*, in virtue of the connection), and struck him to the ground (which is the root meaning of הרג, as to cut in pieces is of קטל). Human sin made a gigantic advance in this act. The first sin was caused by the charms of sense, and in consequence of a cunningly planned temptation; now diabolical hatred and brutal barbarity unite and bring forth murder. Men now for the first time bury their dead, and this first dead man is the first martyr, and his brother is his murderer. A chasm is now established within humanity itself between two kinds of seed, one man placing himself on the side of the seed of the woman, the other upon that of the seed of the serpent. Cain is the representative of the class of men which is *ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ* (1 John iii. 12), and Abel the representative of the Church, which is hated by the world and persecuted even unto blood. He is also a type of the righteous Son of the Virgin, whose blood, shed by His own brethren after the flesh, speaketh better things than that of Abel, by crying, not for vengeance, but for pardon. Now follows, vv. 9–12, the punishment of the fratricide. Before sentence is passed he is tried and convicted, ver. 9: *And Jahveh said to Cain, Where is Hebel thy brother? And he said, I know not. Am I my brother's keeper?* As God asked Adam, Where art thou? He now asks Cain: Where is thy brother? As in the former case He interested Himself in the fallen man, so here in one man as compared to the other. אַי is, especially in indignant threatening questions, the usual connective form of אַי (Deut. xxxii. 37; 1 Sam. xxvi. 16; Jer. v. 7); it here stands before ה, before which however אַיֵּה also occurs, xix. 5, xxii. 7. Cain's answer shows what terrible progress sin had made since the fall of our first parents; in their case there was timid anxious flight and excuses, here a bold lie

and unloving defiance. But denial was vain, ver. 10: *And He said: What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crying to me from the ground!* In iii. 13 it was said מַה־זֹּאת עָשִׂית; here, because מַה with a following *dagessata* of ה, ח, ע is changed into מֶה (Ges. § 37. 1), מֶה עָשִׂיתָ. The sentence with קוֹל is an interjectional one. קוֹל (followed by a mere genitive, Isa. lii. 8, Zech. xi. 3, and sometimes with the addition of some other attribute, 1 Kings i. 41, xiv. 6, comp. Sol. Song ii. 8, Jer. x. 22, which may be understood genitivally as an apposition, or accusatively as a definition of the condition, like מתהלך, iii. 8) is spoken with an accent of exclamation: Voice! = Hark! Attraction after the scheme, 1 Sam. ii. 4, and perhaps also Job xxix. 10, is present here only so far as what is predicated refers not so much to the sound, but to the more important notion of that which gives it forth: voice of thy brother's blood, of one crying, or: of blood crying (while crying). The plur. דמים is the plur. of the product (Dietrich, *Abhandlung*, p. 40), and means, in distinction from דם, not the blood circulating in the body, but that which is flowing, or has flowed out from it (Lev. xx. 18 and xii.), and which has mostly been shed by violence.[1] Blood murderously shed demands Divine vengeance by an inward necessity: *Clamat ad cœlum vox sanguinis.* According to Heb. xi. 4, Abel is still speaking after his death, and is hence undestroyed and living. The sin which he denied being now brought before the eyes of Cain, sentence is passed upon him, ver. 11: *And now cursed art thou from the ground, which hath opened its mouth to receive the blood of thy brother from thy hand.* The conclusion is drawn as at iii. 22 with וְעַתָּה. It is questionable whether מִן־הָאֲדָמָה means "from the earth" or "away from the earth." The relative sentence seems to suggest the former, according to which the ground is to be

[1] The Talmud (Mishna *Sanhedrin* iv. 5) concludes from דמי, that whoever commits a murder is answerable, not only for the blood of him whom he has slain, but also for that of the descendants he might have had: his blood and דם זרעותיו (the blood of his *σπέρματα*, comp. Gal. iii. 16).

the means of carrying the curse into execution (Keil and others). But in view of the climax in which ver. 12 issues, and the echo of the sentence from Cain's own mouth, the latter is more obvious (Gerl. Kalisch and others). The relative sentence would then still retain its signification as stating the motive, and the earth would still remain the instrument of execution: that part of the earth which has been compelled to drink in the innocent blood is henceforth under the curse of blood-guiltiness (Num. xxxv. 33; comp. Isa. xxvi. 21) and drives away the murderer, being smitten with barrenness and refusing to reward his labour, ver. 12: *When thou tillest the ground, it shall not continue to yield to thee its strength. Unsettled and fugitive shalt thou be upon earth.* The jussive תֹּסֶף (here in the apodosis of the conditional prodosis, Ges. § 128. 2) is followed, as at vii. 10 (comp. 12), Ex. viii. 25, x. 28 sq., Deut. iii. 26, by the simple inf., instead of by לְתֵת. כֹּחַ, strength, is here, as at Job xxxi. 39, Prov. v. 10, equivalent to the result of strength, the produce of fertility. The curse of the first sin affected the ground in the first place and man only indirectly; here, where sin has reached the height of Satanic murder, the curse affects first of all the murderer himself. But it is not the curse of condemnation, but of banishment, for even the murderer is not at once given up by the grace of God. נָע וָנָד, a similar pair of words, with an alliterative kind of rhyme, to נִין וְנִכְבַּד, Isa. xix. 22, is too freely translated *στένων καὶ τρέμων* by LXX., and more successfully by Jerome, *vagus* and *profugus*. נע means unsettled, though without change of place; נד, restlessly changing one place for another, used especially of a bird driven from its nest, Isa. xvi. 2; Prov. xxvii. 8; Ps. xi. 1.

Alleviation of the curse by a guarantee of life, vv. 13–15. Cain's defiance is now exchanged for despair, ver. 13: *And Cain said to Jahveh, My guilt is great beyond bearing.* The verb נשא means both taking away, *i.e.* the forgiveness (Ex. xxxiv. 7), and bearing, *i.e.* the expiation of sin (Num. v. 31). Ancient translators give for the most part the

former meaning (LXX., Onkelos, Jerome: *quam ut veniam merear*), but then we should expect מֵהִנָּשֵׂא, while מִנְּשׂוֹא has the speaker for its subject, and is said for מִנָּשְׂאִי, for the generalization of the thought. The Greek μεῖζον ἢ ὥστε φέρειν would correspond with it. That it is not the possibility of forgiveness of which Cain despairs, but the possibility of bearing the burden of sin, which is at the same time the burden of punishment, is confirmed by ver. 14: *Behold, Thou hast driven me out from the ground and soil on which I dwelt, and I must hide from Thy face, and I am to be unsettled and fugitive upon the earth, and then it will come to pass, whoever finds me will slay me.* The curse of Jahveh has banished Cain from that part of the earth's surface (מֵעַל פְּנֵי) on which he had hitherto dwelt, and he will thus be obliged to hide himself far away from the face of the Lord, which is turned towards men in Eden, but cannot bear the sight of him, the murderer. And thus wandering about on the wide earth (בָּאָרֶץ), he will be exposed to murder. It is thus that the first murderer, though God has let him experience mercy instead of justice, bears testimony to that law which is engraven in human nature, the law, viz., of retribution, and especially of man's own life being forfeited by blood-guiltiness. But whom did Cain think of meeting beyond Eden? Knobel thinks that acquaintance with some primitive race of man in Eastern Asia besides the Caucasian is here shown. But if Cain feared to be recognised beyond Eden as a known murderer, does not this presuppose that only one human family, the family of Adam, existed? Blood-vengeance was not indeed as yet a custom, but it is the most primitive form of the capital punishment of the murderer. Hence it was but natural that Cain should fear for his life when his father's family should be increased, and it was the equally natural consequence of his evil conscience, that the earth should seem to him already full of avengers. The answer of God assumes the possibility of what he feared, while He neither kills Cain Himself, nor will suffer

any other to kill him, 15*a*: *And Jahveh said to him, Therefore whoever killeth Cain, it shall be avenged sevenfold.* LXX. *πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας Κάϊν ἑπτὰ ἐκδικούμενα παραλύσει, i.e.* he shall answer for (pay for) seven punishable transgressions, *septem vindictas exsolvet* (see Jerome, *ep. ad Damasum*, cxxv.). The verb *ἐκδικεῖσθαι* is just as equivocal as the Hophal הֻקַּם, which may mean either *vindicari* (ver. 24) or *puniri*, Ex. xxi. 20 sq.; but—and this seems to have occasioned the paraphrase of the LXX.—*puniri*, not with the subject of the person, but of the crime. Hence it must either be explained (as by Tuch) according to ver. 24: if any one kills Cain, he (Cain) shall be avenged sevenfold, or: it shall be avenged (punished) sevenfold. In both cases כל begins (as at 1 Sam. ii. 13) a virtually hypothetical prodosis (*quicunque* = *si quispiam*), and in both (as *e.g.* also at ix. 6) a change of the subject takes place. We prefer however the latter; for the thought, that God will visit with punishment the murder committed on Cain, has more to recommend it than that He will avenge Cain. The promise is followed by its guarantee, 15*b*: *And Jahveh made a sign for Cain, that whoever found him might not kill him.* It is a question whether this means: He imparted a sign to him, impressed it on him, or: He gave him a sign, *i.e.* assured him of his inviolability by some external occurrence. The Midrash (*Bereshith rabba*, c. 22) already hesitates between the two. R. Jehudah thinks that God made the sun shine forth suddenly; R. Nehemiah, that He caused the leprosy to break out on Cain's forehead, so that it might be seen that he was already sufficiently punished. When it is considered that שִׂים אות or שִׁית אות has elsewhere (Ex. x. 1 sq.) the same meaning as עשׂה אות and נתן אות, some marvel or token given as a guarantee seems to be intended. When on the other hand men call to mind that a momentary pledge of God's promise affecting only himself would have been of no use to Cain, but that what he needed was some lasting indication of the inviolability of his person to others, the view is again pressed upon us as in agreement with the

circumstances, that God impressed upon his body, perhaps upon his brow (comp. Ezek. ix. 4), the characteristic of inviolability; more freely yet not incorrectly: that he imparted to his personality a power of impression capable of disarming those who were laying snares for his life. The use of לְ שִׂים, Ex. iv. 11, is similar. That בְּקִין is not said, is explained by the ל *commodi* being indispensable; besides, בקין would not be free from ambiguity, for שִׂים אוֹת בְּ, Isa. lxvi. 19, does not mean: to make a sign on some, but: to give a sign to some one. With the inf. after לְבִלְתִּי (like Ezek. xx. 15), the object here stands before the subject (Ges. § 133. 3), which seemed more agreeable as to style. Thus God went no farther than to banish Cain from the neighbourhood of His presence here below. He favoured him with the prolongation of his day of grace, because he acknowledged sin as sin, and punishment as its deserved consequence, and that all might have in Cain the punishment of murder before their eyes as a warning and example. To this must be added, that the continuance of the human race as yet required that the lives of individuals should be spared.

Cain's new abode, ver. 16: *And Cain went out from the place of Jahveh, and settled in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden.* He went out מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה, *i.e.* like Jonah i. 3, from the place where Jahveh had appeared to him, and at that time was wont to appear to men in general. The situation of the country in which he settled cannot be more particularly defined; קִדְמַת (see on ii. 14) directs us to Eastern Asia, for the "front" is the east side. The name נוֹד means flight and misery (*elend*, old high German *elilenti*, another, that is, a strange land). Van Bohlen, who is followed by Colenso, conjectures that it was Northern India; and the Arabic reading really makes دود a proverbially fertile Indian mountain. Cain's immediate offspring, ver. 17: *And Cain knew his wife, and she conceived, and bare Chanôkh, and he became the builder of a town, and called the name of the town after the name of his son, Chanôkh.* Whence had Cain his wife? Did he find in the

land of Nod human beings of both sexes? Impossible, for the actual unity of the human race is a fundamental doctrine of Scripture which is never broken through, and intends the descendants of Adam to be regarded as the entire human race. In any case we must regard Cain's wife as a daughter of Adam (v. 4). In saying this however free play is left to the imagination, and the narrative appears without disguise to be but a fragment of some lost connected history. It is a quite unjustifiable reproach of Karl Hase, that Cain's marriage with his sister involves the origin of mankind in incest. If the human race was to be propagated from a single pair, such closely related marriages were unavoidable. The notion of incest was originally limited to the reciprocal relation of parents and children, and afterwards extended (but not everywhere equally) in proportion as the possibility of conjugal connections was diversified. For marriage, according to its essential definition (ii. 24 sq.), was to be a new generic and social beginning, accompanied with a breaking off from the Toledoth from which the husband and wife originated. Cain called his son חֲנוֹךְ (from חנך, denom. from חֵךְ = חִנְּךְ, palate, to moisten the palate, *imbuere*), dedication, opening, beginning; and he then gives the town the same name; *Le lieu est devenu une personne*, remarks Reuss. A town חנוך being no longer to be identified in ancient geography, it might with apparently greater justice be said: *La personne est devenue un lieu.* But elsewhere too this name has been borne by the first-born (v. 18, xlvi. 9, but not xxv. 4). Budde thinks to restore the original text by reading: ויהי בנה עיר ויקרא שם העיר כשמו חנוך, he (viz. Chanôkh) became a town builder, and called the name of the city after his own name, Chanôkh. But ויהי בנה עיר suits Cain. For whether עיר means a watch or anything else (Accadian *uru*, Assyrian *êru*), it is still a dwelling-place, the purpose of which is self-protection. A considerable time may have elapsed between the settlement in the eastern country and the building of the city. The sentence did not state that

Cain was to be נע ונד all his life, its תהיה only speaks of an indefinite future; besides, something of the character of the sentence pronounced adhered, as its name implies, to the settlement in the land of נוֹד. It is said that the discrepancy between iv. 16*b*–25 and iv. 1–15 is fundamental, and excludes the notion of only one narrator. But does not the name of the country, נוד, refer to נע ונד? And is not the building of a city, which presupposes a large number of men, consistent with Cain's fear, 15*b*, of meeting men far from Eden, and being attacked by them. We shall meet with yet other mutual allusions which speak against the notion of two documents. Besides, it should be noted that 17*b* does not state that when Cain was in the act of building a city a son was born to him, but in conformity with the syntax, xxi. 20*b*, Judg. xvi. 21, 2 Kings xv. 5, 2 Chron. ix. 26, that Cain became *ædificans urbem*—it is the fact of an advance in civilisation which is thus registered. If the building of the city had, as Budde thinks, Chanôkh for its subject, הוא היה בנה must have been said. No—Cain together with his son and his wife formed a family, a household, and for this his household Cain now builds a house, and indeed, as עיר (syn. כְּפָר, כֹּךְ, a fenced-in place) denotes, a complex of houses. His son and his town, *i.e.* this beginning of a town, receive the same name. He called the son by whom he became the head of a family, and the city by which he exchanged his unsettled and fugitive life for a permanent abode, חנוך. The son and the city were together the beginning of a new epoch. The descendants of Cain, ver. 18: *And unto Chanôkh was born Irad: and Irad begat Mechujaël: and Mechujaël begat Methušaél: and Methušaël begat Lemech.* The acc. of the object is combined with the passive (here with the *Niphal*, as x. 25 with the *Pual*), a frequent construction throughout the Pentateuch, Ges. § 143. 1*a*. And יָלַד is here used three times with the meaning to beget, γεννᾶν, characteristic of the Jahvistic style. The Elohistic style uses instead הוֹלִיד, which was in the more modern epoch of the

language the customary though not the exclusive expression (comp. יולדיו, *parentes ejus*, Zech. xiii. 3; היולדה, ὁ γεννήσας αὐτήν, Dan. xi. 6, and the exchange of the *Hiph.* and *Kal*, Job xxxviii. 28 sq.). In the circumstance that the genealogy of Cain precedes that of Seth, ch. v., we meet with one of the principles of arrangement of Genesis. For in the roll of the nations, ch. x., the lists of the Japhethites and Hamites precede that of the Shemites, the line of the promise being never carried on till that which does not belong to it is finished off. It is striking that the names חנוך and למך should recur in the Sethitic genealogy, and that the names קינן and ירד in the latter should correspond with קין and עירד in the Cainitic, and מהללאל and מתושלח with מחויאל and מתושאל. Buttmann in his *Mythologus* (vol. i. 1828, 2nd ed. 1865) founds thereon the assertion, that the two registers originally had the same object, viz. that of exhibiting the first beginnings of the human race, which the one derives from an ancestor named Seth, the other from Cain. This is confirmed by Tuch, Böttich., Hupf., Schrader, Reuss, Dillm., Kuenen. The genealogy in ch. ix., says Budde, did not originally reach back beyond Cain, Israel therein gave expression to their descent from Cain; it was *Q* who first made the generic term האדם into a proper name. Adam does not belong to the national consciousness, but to the system. But it is a castle in the air to make out that the Israelite nation ever traced its descent to Cain. And to say that Adam, as the proper name of the first man, was an after invention, is an arbitrary expedient for doing away with the dualism of the two lines by a forced heading. We assume with greater justice, that together with the genealogy, iv. 16–22, which terminates in Lemech and his three sons, there was in the Jehovistic book another, which starting from Adam terminated in Noah and his three sons, the place of which has been taken by ch. v. (from *Q*). The similarity of sound between the names in both lines may be explained by the effort of the tradition to make apparent the parallelism of the two lines; notwithstand-

ing their ethic diversity, למך and חנוך are the only identical sounds in both, and it is just these so named persons who are guarded by the description given of them from the suspicion of original identity.[1] It is moreover quite comprehensible that in everything relating to the form of speech of these primitive histories there would be a freer treatment, and therefore a greater vacillation of tradition. The names of these first progenitors of our race were not indeed Hebrew nor any Semitic language, but belonged to a tongue the knowledge of which has vanished from post-diluvian ages. The present wording used for these names is an attempt to reproduce them in a manner intelligible to the then contemporary world, and it may be regarded as an indication of an actual relation between the original and the now hebraistically written words, that nothing of symbolical invention can be detected in the names as they at present stand. עִירָד defies even a probable interpretation; Lagarde (*Orientalia* ii.) considers *Γαιδάδ* of the LXX. the authentic form of the name, which he ranks with غذ; but no satisfactory meaning is to be obtained either from this verb, which generally means, to suffer from plague-sores, or from ערד, to be fleet (whence עָרוֹד, wild ass), or from عرن, to shoot up or to be hard, and the form remains peculiar. With the reading עִירָד, עִוּז may to some extent be compared; if the reading עֵירָד is preferred, the more corresponding nominal form הֵידָד, עֵיבָל, to which Lagarde, *auf Olsh.* § 181*a*, refers, may be compared. מְחוּיָאֵל or מְחִיָּאֵל (with *Jod redundans*) would, according to the Hebrew מחה, محا, mean the wiped off (purified?) of God; according to the Aram. מחא (with خ), the smitten of God: neither is satisfactory; Budde's reading, מַחְיָאֵל or מְחַיֵּאֵל, God gives life, is tempting. מְתוּשָׁאֵל is more easy of explanation, which means either a suppliant, or according to the Assyrian *mutu-*

[1] Lagarde in *Orientalia*, ii. 33–38, endeavours to prove from LXX. and other ancient translations that מתושלח also stood originally for מתושאל, and מתלאל for מחויאל in the Cainitic list, c. iv.

ša-ili, a man of God. There is the less to be said about לֶמֶךְ. Budde thinks that this name has in any case a meaning of violence; but the Arabic لمك, "to knead," does not justify this conclusion. In ch. v. the ninth from Adam in the line of Seth, here the seventh from Adam in the line of Cain, is so named. In him the Cainitic tendency comes to a climax. Commencement of polygamy, ver. 19: *And Lemech took to himself two wives: the name of the one was ʿAdah, and the name of the second was Zillah.* The narrator—says Budde—does not intend to depict this first appearance of bigamy as a transgression; Jacob also had two wives. But he surely does intend it as certainly as he declared monogamy, ii. 24, to be the fundamental law of marriage at the creation. The bigamy of Lemech was the first step to the perversion of this fundamental law. And among the Israelites and their ancestors polygamy, though tolerated, did not belie its nature as an act contrary to and alienating from God. Instead of הָאַחַת . . . הַשֵּׁנִית, here and Ex. i. 15, we elsewhere find also האחת . . . האחת, Deut. xxi. 15; Ex. xxxvi. 10, etc. The names of the two women, however explained, have a sensuous sound. *Ἀδά* is, according to Hesychius, the name of the Babylonian Hera. The first son of Adah, ver. 20: *And Adah bare Jabal: he was the father of those dwelling in tents, and with cattle. Jabal* (pronounced *Ἰωβήλ* by the LXX.) is the founder of nomadic shepherd life as a wandering mode of living, which was now more decidedly than hitherto (iv. 2) separated from agriculture. Live stock had also been extended beyond צאן to greater and smaller breeding cattle, and was called מִקְנֶה (properly acquisition, possession, viz. *peculium*, like the Arab. مال, *DMZ.* xxviii. 581). The verb יֹשֵׁב, which with the acc. means not only to dwell in, but also to dwell with something, is here *per zeugma* the governing word of מקנה also, tent and cattle being comprised together as moveable property (comp. the verbs *possidere* and *besitzen*, similar to ישב thus used). The second son of Adah, ver. 21: *And the name of his brother was Jubal: he was the father of all that handle the cither and pipe.*

Instrumental music had its beginning with Jubal. According to this verse the oldest stringed instrument is כִּנּוֹר, the cither (*κινύρα* or *κιθάρα*), probably from כנר, to creak, to rustle. Dillmann's comparison of the Aram. כְּנָרָא, ostensibly "hemp," rests upon a mistake of Castelli's; it is not hemp which is so called, but the Nebek, *Zizyphus Lotus* (Imm. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, No. 229).[1] עוּגָב (Ps. cl. 4, עֻגָב), according to the formation שׁוּעָל, is the pipe used to accompany love-songs (for the derivation from ענב is commended by the circumstance that the history of Lemech breathes elsewhere also of sensual love), and indeed the *σύριγξ*, invented, according to Grecian mythology, by Pan; the *fistula* (*avena*) *silvestris* of the Latin poets, not the bagpipe, for the name of which, *συμφωνία*, the book of Daniel furnishes the earliest authority. The children of Zillah, ver. 22: *And Zillah, she also bare Tubal-cain, who hammered every kind of cutting instrument of copper and iron; and the sister of Tubal-cain Naʿamah.* The translation of the LXX., *καὶ ἦν σφυροκόπος χαλκεὺς χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου*, requires no other text; it disguises the inconvenient כל by *χαλκεύς*. Budde however picks out of *καὶ ἦν σφυροκόπος*, ויהי למך, declares the כל to be the כל of the preceding ver. 21 which has crept in here, and from these two hypotheses draws the conclusion that this ויהי למך וגו׳ was the original introduction of the song, which ascribed the invention of forged weapons not to Tubal-cain but to Lemech. Then nothing would be told of Tubal-cain but the bare name, while the narrator evidently means to bring forward in the three sons of Lemech's double marriage the inventors and founders of three new kinds of employment. It cannot be safely assumed that he wrote הוא היה אבי a third time also, but perhaps לַטָּשׁ (from לטש, لطس, to strike with the flat side of a thing, whence the Arab. *miltas*, large hammer[2]) is a gloss on חָרָשׁ, which being received into the

[1] Comp. my *Ein Tag in Capernaum* (3rd ed. 1886), p. 134 sq.

[2] Jewish lexicographers explain לטש by חִדֵּד (حدّد), on which account it is in the philosophical diction of the Middle Ages transferred to the polish and refinement of the mind; see *DMZ.* xxxvii. 488.

text expelled the original (כל חרש) אבי (Olsh.), while חרש has from the original χαράσσων (חֹרֵשׁ or חָרַשׁ) now become the neuter χαράσσον. We do not here read that stone implements preceded the metal implements of the *ferrea ætas* as described by Græco-Roman poets, but it is significant that copper should precede iron; the former is called נְחֹשֶׁת, apparently from its bright polish, from נחשׁ ✓ חשׁ; the latter בַּרְזֶל, from ברז, to pierce, the metal being named according to the implements fashioned from it, especially the spear with its iron mounting and point (comp. the Arabic name of iron, حديد, v. حد, to sharpen, to point). Ewald sees in the three sons of Lemech the representatives of the three Aryan castes: the *Viças* (craftsmen), *Brahmanas* (artists and scholars) and *Kśatrijas* (warriors). In fact we here see for the first time the teaching and the military, added to the labouring class. יָבָל perhaps gets his name from the wandering (comp. יְבָלֵי־מָיִם and יוּבַל, Jer. xvii. 8), *i.e.* the slow going to and fro and onwards of shepherds; יוּבָל (according to the formation סוּגַר, cage, Ezek. xix. 9), יוּבָל, from the loud playing of instruments, for יוֹבֵל (יב ✓) means alarm and alarm horn, and *jûbâbâ* is the Peshito word for תרועה, the sound of horns and blare of trumpets.[1] תּוּבַל קַיִן (written תּוּבַלְקַיִן by the Orientals) is compounded with קַיִן, قَيْن, which denotes the smith, and 2 Sam. xxi. 16 the spear as a weapon forged by the smith; it is the infinitival noun, concretely used of קין, related according to the usual view to קין, to erect, to prepare, to form, but perhaps to a word imitative of the sound produced by the stroke of the hammer (comp. קִינָה, קוֹנֵן, with قَيْنَة, lute player). תּוּבַל recalls the Persian *tûbâl*, *tûpâl* (in current Turkish also *tuwal*), which means iron shavings, according to which, but contrary to the Hebrew order of the words, Rödiger explains it *scoriarum faber*. May not the

[1] The meanings to wander, to flow, to rejoice, for the verb יבל, are derived by Friedr. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* pp. 122–125. יבל = Assyr. *abâlu*, to lead, would also furnish a fitting root-meaning for Jabal.

names of Lemech's three sons, יבל, יובל, תובל, be perhaps a scale of noun forms from the same verbal stem? Ewald goes still farther, and assumes that though קין is added only to the third name, all three were so named as descendants of Cain. We should then have to compare יְבוּל, fruit = production (from יבל, Assyr. *abâlu*, Kal in the sense of the Hiph. הוביל, whence perhaps also *ablu*, son). It may be only by mere chance that the name of Apollo is symphonious with the first two names, and that of Vulcan with the third, while at the same time the name of Lemech's daughter, נַעֲמָה, is of like signification with Venus, whose name in Sanscrit is derived from *vanas*, delight, gracefulness. The heathen gods are not merely deified natural objects (Goldziher, Grill, Leop. Einstein), but some of them also deified human beings; and there is nothing which in itself need astonish us to find roots of their histories in the worldly-minded house of Cain. The scriptural account however shows the roots of crafts and arts found in it. The progress of civilisation has never kept equal pace with that of religion. It overtakes the latter and sometimes even opposes it. Nevertheless it has its just claims, and every acquisition made by natural secular development will at last, after undergoing a process of purification and transfiguration, become the property of the kingdom of God. This applies especially to music, that daughter of heaven which has come down to earth.

The first song, Lemech's boastful defiance by reason of the newly-invented weapon of vengeance, vv. 23, 24: *And Lemech said unto his wives:*

Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
Ye wives of Lemech, hearken unto my speech:

Surely I slay men for my wound,
And young men for my scar.

For Cain is avenged sevenfold,
And Lemech seventy and seven times.

Lemech is praising the invention of Tubal-cain. This signification of the words of Lemech was first penetrated by Hamann

(*Werke*, ii. 390) and Herder (*Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, pt. i. Discourse x.). Caunter (*The Poetry of the Pentateuch*, 1839, i. p. 81) cannot make the fact that Lemech's words are addressed to his wives agree with this. But their very safety depended on Lemech's capability of using arms, and the metal weapon, to which this lyric effusion applies, was the invention of the son of Zillah. Ephrem, Jerome and others agree in reading out of Lemech's words, according to Jewish tradition, that, seduced by Tubal-cain, he had slain his ancestor Cain (אִישׁ), and then in his displeasure thereat had killed this his own son (יֶלֶד). It is but a foolish Haggadah picked out of the words.[1] Such a fantastic way of treating history is avoided by taking כִּי hypothetically, and with Nägelsbach making the periods to be: If I have slain a man . . . then if Cain was avenged sevenfold, Lemech would be avenged seventy-seven times. But this gives an intolerably clumsy construction, in which the requisite prominence of the apodosis is absent (comp. Ex. xxii. 22, 23), and moreover an involved meaning. We do not expect the thought that Lemech, having committed a murder, will better protect himself against blood-vengeance than Cain was to be protected by God, but that he will pay back every attack by slaying him who makes it, and will by his own power make himself more inviolable than Cain was by God's promise. כי either justifies the summons of 23*a* by the importance of the matter (for, because), or gives forth the substance of what is to be heard (that = ὅτι, subsequently faded into an untranslatable ὅτι *recitativum*), or it has an affirmative meaning confirmative of what preceded (Ex. iv. 25; comp. Isa. vii. 9), as we have translated above. Certainly הָרַגְתִּי seems to state an externally completed fact; but in the absence of certain knowledge concerning this, we take it as a perfect of certainty, which states an act completed already as to the consciousness, but not

[1] See the explanation of the whole song, according to this Haggadah, in the Judæo-Polish so-called *Weiber-Chummasch*, translated into English by P. J. Hershon (London 1885) (*Commentars über die Genesis für Ungelehrte*), p. 37 sq.

as yet externally accomplished (comp. the *præt. confidentiæ* of prayer and the *præt. propheticum* of prediction, Ges. § 126. 4). Beside אִישׁ we have יֶלֶד, the young man, which Budde mistakenly declares to be inadmissible: the young men of Rehoboam are called ילדים, 1 Kings xii., so are the pages at the royal court, Dan. i. 4; in Eccles. iv. 13, יֶלֶד (like נער, x. 16) is a young man in contrast to זקן. The suffix of לְפִצְעִי is as usual passive (Job ix. 17; comp. מַכָּתִי, Jer. x. 19; Nah. iii. 19 and elsewhere), *i.e.* it means the wound inflicted on some one, not the wound he inflicts; while on the other hand in חַבּוּרָה (חֲבוּרָה) there is no question of the objective or subjective meaning of the suffix, with a suffix it always means the scar which one has on himself, Ps. xxxviii. 5; Isa. liii. 5. The preposition ל expresses both times, as in Lev. xix. 28, the causal relation, the external occasion. The meaning of שִׁבְעִים וְשִׁבְעָה is determined according to שִׁבְעָתַיִם; it is multiplicatively meant, and does not denote 70 × 7 (Kamphausen), but 77 times, which is also the sense of the ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτά of the LXX. (comp. Matt. xviii. 22) and of the *septuagies septies* of Jerome. Elsewhere seven times is called שֶׁבַע (with the פְּעָמִים understood), Prov. xxiv. 16; here the numeral stands in its primitive form, and only becomes multiplicative through the connection of thought (Ew. § 269*b*). We here see the beginnings of music followed by the beginning of its sister art poetry.[1] It is true that Lemech did not speak Hebrew, but the song nevertheless exhibits in this Hebrew reproduction the genesis of poetry. It began with lyric poetry as a primitive and powerful pouring forth of strong emotions in a rhythmical form. In this song we meet with all the characteristics of subsequent poetry in their first beginnings: viz. 1. Rhythm, *i.e.* the regular succession of rise and fall; 2. consonance, *i.e.* the similar

[1] Chas. Aug. Briggs finds strophic poetry already in chs. i.–iii.: viz. in the Elohistic account of creation a poem in six rising strophes with pentametric lines, in the Jahvistic history of Paradise a poem in ten fourteen-lined strophes. But *Q* and *JE* both write prose and not even poetically, but only here and there prose with a poetic elevation and colouring.

ending of coinciding members of the verse, which in older Semitic poetry was not developed beyond the rhyme of inflexion; 3. parallelism in the arrangement of the thoughts, a fundamental property especially of Hebrew poetry, which may be compared to the rhythmic systole and diastole of the heart, or to the regular vibration of the two halves of the verse; 4. the construction of the strophes, for the Song of Lemech must not be judged according to the two Masoretic verses into which it is divided. It consists of three distichs, the distich being the simplest and primitive form of the strophe; 5. the more elevated diction shown by the choice both of rarer forms, such as שִׁמְעָן for שִׁמְעָנָה, Isa. xxxii. 9 (like קְרָאן, call, Ex. ii. 20, for קְרֶאנָ, Ruth i. 20; comp. Syr. *ḳeṭûlên* for קְטוֹלְנָה), and of expressions like הַאְזֵינָה and אִמְרָה, which are not worn out in familiar language. With regard to the matter of the song, Budde is persuaded that simply the use of the new invention for its lawful purpose is brought to notice, in truth however that Titanic arrogance of which it is said, Hab. i. 11, that its might is its god, and Job xii. 6, that it brings its god, viz. the sword, in its hand, is expressed therein. The sword in his hand counts for more with Lemech than a threat in the mouth of God, and he breathes out murder although Cain his ancestor had fallen under the curse on account of it. The Cainitic development starts from murder and culminates in that murderous lust of war, in which the ascendancy of the animal instinct in human nature manifests itself. It is said that iv. 1–16 and 17–24 do not harmonize. But the retrospect of Lemech's song: "to whoso killeth Cain, it shall be avenged sevenfold," 15*a*, binds the two supposed discrepant pieces of history in close connection. The unity here is missed, while in the two genealogies, on the contrary, the Cainitic and the Sethitic of ch. v., an original unity is invented. The two tables are however characteristically distinct, being of different length and consciously pursuing a different object. The Cainitic, with its seven members, stops where the worldly tendency of this line culminates, while the

Sethitic in ch. v. with its ten members has in view the transition from primitive history to the history of the Flood, and according to iv. 25 sq. a fundamentally different tendency prevails in this line.

The same narrator who described the fall of man and the murder of Abel now continues the history of Adam and his wife, ver. 25: *And Adam knew his wife again; and she bare a son, and called his name Seth: for Elohim has appointed me another seed for Hebel, because Cain slew him.* Instead of הָאָדָם, ver. 1, where the history of man after the expulsion from Paradise begins, we here read the proper name אָדָם.[1] עוֹד refers to the two preceding births. Even if this עוֹד were absent, as in the LXX., וַיֵּדַע would not be enough to justify the conclusion, that according to the original text Seth was the first son of man (Budde). As at 1 Sam. i. 19 the subject treated of is the blessing of children after long barrenness, so here it is the blessing of children after the parents had lost Abel, and to a certain extent Cain also. The name שֵׁת seems, according to this explanation, to mean the appointed, but a passive שֵׁת=שִׁית cannot be authenticated. שֵׁת considered as a participle (like מֵת) signifies the appointer, viz. of a new beginning, or as a substantive (like אַד): the settlement in the sense of foundation (comp. שָׁת, pillar), and indeed a new foundation. כִּי is followed by an *oratio directa* (not *obliqua*), as at xxxiii. 31 (comp. פֶּן, xxvi. 7). The metheg in שָׁתַת־לִי is a sign of the long *ā*, as at xxxv. 27; Job ix. 20. "Another seed" is equal to another descendant, as זֶרַע אֲנָשִׁים, 1 Sam. i. 11, means a male descendant, and זרע אלהים, Mal. ii. 15, a descendant according to the promise. Parents have already a posterity in one descendant, זרע

[1] "This אדם as a proper name, remarks Budde, cannot proceed from the same hand which wrote the Paradisaic history and iv. 1." Mere cobwebs! האדם and אדם are related to each other as האלהים and אלהים; the former means *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*, the latter *ἄνθρωπος* as a proper name. It is *J* who in iv. 1–16 continues the history of primitive mankind; the different colouring of iv. 17–24 is explained by assuming that he here draws from a different source, and at iv. 25 sq. recurs to the track of his own narrative.

is not always the singular comprehension of many.[1] The words כִּי הֵרָגוֹ קָיִן are no accessory remark of the narrator, but כִּי is, as at 2 Sam. xix. 22, Zeph. ii. 10, in virtue of the preceding תַּחַת, equal to תַּחַת כִּי, Deut. iv. 37; Prov. i. 29. Budde's degradation of כי הרגו קין to a patched-on historical remark is even syntactically refuted. The reason for Seth's mother here calling God אלהים is found by Dillmann to be, that he who meant to bring in 26*b* could not well put יהוה into the mouth of Eve. But why not? Dillmann himself understands 26*b* of the solemn worship of Jahveh, which presupposed that men who joined together for such a purpose already knew Him. Hence it would not seem strange to find the word יהוה here (comp. iv. 1). Seth, who continues the line of promise, was indeed a gift of the God of the promise. But the fact that Eve here calls God אלהים, shows that the idea preponderant in her consciousness was that of the creative power, which had renewed the hope that had blossomed in Abel and been destroyed by Cain: Abel had died childless, but in Seth the line of promise, from which Cain had wilfully broken off, is actually continued, ver. 26: *And Seth, to him was born a son, and he called his name Enôš; then to declare the name of Jahveh was begun.* On גַּם־הוּא, *etiam ei*, see Ges. § 121. 3. Similar perhaps is the אַף־הוּא (even his) of Elisha, 2 Kings ii. 14. The verb אנשׁ (related to the Arab. انس) means to be, or to become weak, frail, like the Assyr. *enêšu* (comp. *ἀσθένεια*, sickness), whence the adj. *ênšu*, weak. This is also undoubtedly the meaning of אֱנוֹשׁ, to whom as a personage of primitive history *Gajômeret* of the Persian myth (who became king in Firdôsi), and whose name, *gaja maratan*, signifies mortal life, corresponds. And whatever the deriva-

[1] The Midrash frequently remarks that Esther in ממקום אחר (Esth. iv. 14) has in view "that seed" (אותו זרע), viz. King Messiah (see Levy under זֶרַע). St. Paul too, in Gal. iii. 16, takes his stand upon Jewish thought and diction, according to which זֶרַע may mean an individual, who represents the posterity of one hitherto childless.

tion of אֱנוֹשׁ, it designates, according to the usage of the language, man on the side of his impotence, frailty, and mortality; see Ps. viii. 5, ciii. 15; Job vii. 1, 17, especially Ps. xc. 3, where the departing generation is called אנוש, in distinction from that which comes into its place, and Isa. li. 12, where the enemies of God and the persecutors of His Church are said, in contrast to their supposed power, greatness, and imperishableness, to be אנוש יָמוּת, as at Ps. x. 18, אנוש מן־הארץ.[1] אָז is generally used to refer to some elevating and joyful occurrence. Even on this account it is improbable that הוּחַל should be intended as passive of Hiph., Ezek. xxxix. 7; and here is related what Jerome cites as a Jewish view (as does also in accordance with the Midrash, Targ. Jer., comp. Abulwalid's רקמה, and Effodi's *Grammatik*, p. 154), *quod tunc primum in nomine Domini et in similitudine ejus fabricata sint idola.* But even the construction הוחל לקרא would in this sense be a monstrosity. The LXX. effaces the אז and reads זה הוחיל, *οὗτος ἤλπισεν*, for which *οὗτος ἦρξεν* (*ἤρξατο*) = זֶה הֵחֵל, would alone be linguistically possible. Aq. correctly gives *τότε ἤρχθη*, and Gr. Ven. *τότε ἦρκται*. It was then begun to call with or by means of the name of Jahveh, *i.e.* (the obj. being conceived of as the means, Ges. § 138, marginal

[1] While אִישׁ, with its plural אֲנָשִׁים, points back to the verb אוּשׁ, to be strong, אִשָּׁה (the ש of which has, according to the Aram. אִתְּתָא, Arab. أُنثَى, the value of ת, ث), from the verb אנשׁ = أنث, designates the woman as *σκεῦος ἀσθενέστερον*. From this same verb seem to be derived, not only אֱנוֹשׁ, but also אֱנֹשׁ, أُنس, with its plural אֲנָשִׁים (נָשִׁים as plur. of the wife is different), أُنسان, Assyr. *nišu*, plur. *nišê* (male beings) and the like. The verb أَنِس, to cling to, to be sociable, also offers itself for the *ins* used of the male relation and of male names in general, and this excites far less suspicion of being a denominative than the Arab. أُنثَى, soft (perhaps peculiar to the female kind); see Friedr. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* p. 162; comp. Zimmern, *Babyl. Busspsalmen*, p. 20.

remark), to call upon Him, viz. by prayer (comp. Zeph. iii. 9; Jer. x. 25; Zech. xiii. 9), and by proclaiming Him (Ps. cv. 1; comp. Ex. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 5, with xxxv. 30). We have here the first link of the chain, xii. 8, xiii. 4, xxi. 33, xxvi. 25. These continuations of the beginning here related show, that the meaning of the narrator is not, that then began the appellation of God by the name Jahveh, which gives Reuss the opportunity for making the cavilling remark: *en cela l'auteur se contredit lui-même*, but that then began the formal and solemn common worship of God, the proclaiming (preaching) Church, hence the Church form of confessing the God of salvation (see Köhler, *Bibl. Geschichte*, i. 51 sq.). Certainly there is no lack of connection between the feeling of the nothingness of the earthly expressed in the name Enosh, and the fact that it was just now that the worship of the Church had its commencement.

II.

THE TOLEDOTH OF ADAM, V.–VI. 8.

THE GENEALOGY FROM ADAM TO NOAH, CH. V.

(Parallel, 1 Chron. i. 1–4.)

The Toledoth of the heaven and the earth are followed by the second main division of Genesis, the Toledoth of Adam, and first by the genealogical table of the ten generations from Adam to Noah, to which this title more especially refers, the beginning of that genealogical chain running through Genesis, the final link of which is formed by the tribes of Israel. The section is Elohistic (by *Q*). The view and mode of representation of the history of creation, that genealogy of heaven and earth, are here continued; in one passage only, v. 29, is found a retrospective reference to the Jahveh-Elohim section, and we there have יהוה and not אלהים. In a rapid survey and so-to-speak in ten strophes, are the first ten patriarchs of the earliest period of history brought before us; the tenth member of the series is however left incomplete, because Noah belongs as much to the post-diluvian as to the ante-diluvian world. In the roll of the Cainites, the contents of which had regard to the history of secular culture, no computation of years was given. Here they begin to form the indispensable scaffolding of the history of redemption, the continuation of which is secured through Seth the substitute of Abel. The narrator computes the years of each patriarch to the birth of the son who was to carry on the line of promise (of Seth therefore, not of Cain in the case of Adam), next those of the remainder of his life, and then adds these two-year marks together with וַיִּהְיוּ כָּל־יְמֵי (for which we have, vv. 23, 31, and ix. 29, וַיְהִי).

The year marks of birth added together with the 100 years from the birth of Shem to the commencement of the Deluge, make 1656 years. The numbers in the LXX. and Samar. differ both in ch. v. and ch. xi. (Shem to Terah) from the Hebrew (see the table). The Septuagint reckons from Adam to the Deluge 2242 (according to another reading 2262) years, the Samaritan (with which the book of Jubilees or *Λεπτὴ Γένεσις*, preserved in Æthiopic and partially in Latin, and edited by Dillmann and Rönsch, agrees) 1307 years. The computation of the LXX. was long regarded as authentic by both the Hellenistic Jews and the ancient Church, whence it was transferred to Moslem authors: it is advocated in the Roman martyrology, and maintained its credit, although Jerome in his translation, which became the Church one, keeps to the Hebrew text. Beda caused offence when in his works, *de temporibus* and *de temporum ratione*, he preferred the numbers of the Hebrew text, although he could appeal to both Jerome and Augustine (*Civ.* xv. 13) in their favour. Among older Protestant investigators, Ludw. Cappellus and Is. Vossius defended the numbers of the LXX., the former against J. Buxtorf, jun., the latter against Geo. Horn. The Hebrew text subsequently found its most learned advocate in J. D. Michaelis, in his treatises, *de Chronologia Mosis ante diluvium* and *a diluvio ad Abrahamum*, 1763–68, and recently in Ed. Preuss, *Zeitrechnung der LXX.* 1859. In England on the other hand the authenticity of the Septuagint figures found zealous defenders in Jackson, Russell, Geo. Rawlinson (in his ten articles on "Early Civilisation" in the *Leisure Hour*, 1876), and lastly in Budd, *The Modern Hebrew Numbers*, London 1880.

The question, how the variation in the three computations is to be accounted for, is still undecided. Gesenius and others explain the differences of the Samaritan as resulting from an effort for a symmetrical decrease in the length of life; Gehringer (*Tübinger Programm*, 1842), from accidental errors in reading and writing in the years of Methuselah

and Lemech. The variations of the LXX. have been explained by Böckh (*Manetho und die Hundssternperiode*, p. 470 sqq.) and Niebuhr (*Geschichte Assurs und Babels*, p. 357 sqq.) from an effort to synchronize the biblical and Egyptian chronologies. The attempt of Niebuhr labours under violent expedients (see Rösch's art. "Zeitrechnung," in Herzog's *RE.*); that of Böckh is far the more seductive. He sees in the 2242 years to the Deluge of the LXX. a reduction of nineteen dog-star periods of the previous history of Egypt, *i.e.* of 27,759 years to as many months of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, this reduction giving $818{,}890\frac{1}{2}$ days = 2242 Julian years. The LXX. might esteem such a reduction justifiable, because ancient tradition testifies to computation by years of a month each in the primitive times of Egypt. Eusebius also reduces the years of the Egyptian history of Menes to months; he reckons however, not 27,759, but 24,900.

But how is the reckoning of the period at 1656 years in the Hebrew text to be explained? Bertheau (*Jahresbericht* of the *DMZ.* 1845) thinks it is founded on the assumption, that the average length of human life during the first period amounted to 160 years, in the second to 120 years, and that subsequently the 1600 solar years became 1656 lunar years of 355 days each. But in none of the three recensions is the first period reckoned at 1600 and the second at 1200; and it is a very precarious expedient to assume that these were the original rates. Besides, the Israelites never computed by mere lunar years, but only by lunar years compensated for by the intercalation of solar years, so that the prevailing measure of time was really the solar year.

The hypothesis of Lagarde, according to which the computation of the extant Hebrew text was shortened by about 1000 years in a polemical interest, viz. that of depriving Christians of the proof that the Messiah really appeared in the year of the world 5500, has been convincingly refuted by Kuenen in a treatise published in French under the title, *Les Origines du Texte Masoréthique*, 1875. Certainly Chris-

tian chronographers reckon 6000 years of prechristian history (*Chronicon Paschale*, ii. p. 117, ed. Bonn), or more accurately: it was assumed that after the completion of the fifth millennium Christ appeared in the sixth, His birth being placed in the year 5000, or more accurately in the year 5500 after the creation of the world (see Ryssel, *Georg der Bischof der Araber*, p. 46). But the Jews would have been caught in their own net by any such curtailment. For according to the ancient Elijah tradition,[1] the advent of the Messiah was to be expected after 2000 years תהו and 2000 years תורה, therefore after the year of the world 4000; and the Talmudists are conscious that this term has been long exceeded without His appearing. According to the computation of the text of the Hebrew Bible, the advent of Christ really falls pretty nearly in the year 4000 (according to Scaliger and Calvisius, 3950; according to Kepler and Petavius, 3984; according to Usher, 4004).

The low figure of the period elapsing between Adam and the Flood, viz. 1307 in the Samaritan version, is from an historical point of view the most incredible, and yet the view that these are the original figures has now obtained renowned advocates. But the circumstance that the gradual decline of the duration of life is here brought forward more clearly, or to speak correctly, comparatively more so, testifies rather to tendency than originality. Bertheau in his article on the numbers in Genesis, ch. v. and xi., in the *Jahrbb. für deutsche Theologie*, xxiii. p. 657 sqq., has directed attention to a surprising phenomenon. The amounts of the duration of life seem to have been obtained by means of adding together the numbers of the years of generation. Thus the 930 years of Adam's life result from adding together the 105 years of Seth, the 90 of Enoch, 70 of Kenan, 65 of Mahalalel, 500 of Noah, with the 100 to the Flood. And Henoch's 365 years are given by reckoning up the 130 years of Adam, the 70

[1] See my essay, "Der eschatologische Denkspruch der Reformatoren," in the *Allg. Ev. Luth. KZ.* 1884, pp. 6–8.

of Kenan, 65 of Mahalalel, with the 100 to the Flood. Both these periods coincide equally in the Hebrew and in the Samaritan text, but the 910 years of Kenan can only be attained by the addition of the year-marks of generation of the Samaritan. Before however we regard the year-marks of life as the sum-total of so unintelligent and nonsensical an addition, we would see in the possibility discovered by Bertheau a curious trick of accident. And that it is such is indeed evident from the fact that the 365 years of Henoch's life, though an undoubted tradition, may yet also be obtained by such an addition sum. The Hebrew text reckons 349 years more from Adam to the Deluge than the Samaritan. Certainly the motive of this increase might be the assumption that two-thirds of the 4000 years of the world, *i.e.* 2666, elapsed between the commencement of the world and the departure from Egypt. And when we consider the division of this plus of 349 years among the year-marks furnished by the periods when Jared, Methuselah, and Lemech begat, a conclusion more favourable to the originality of the Samaritan text may be drawn. To these proofs from probability of the authenticity of the Samaritan computation by Bertheau and Dillmann, another has been added by Budde in his work on *Biblical Primæval History*, 1883. He starts from the view that the ten antediluvian patriarchs, who now, when opposed to the Cainites, all appear as saints (which however is not the case, the contrary being proved by the sole deliverance of Noah), were originally divided into a godly and an ungodly half; Mahalalel closing the godly half, while with Jared, whose name means decline, begins that decay of morals out of which Henoch was removed. The Samaritan gives the most faithful representation of this downfall. In the Hebrew text it is only Methuselah who attains to the year of the Deluge (which according to the inconsiderate division of the year-marks of generation in the LXX. he survives by about fourteen years). In the Samaritan, on the other hand, the year of the Deluge, viz. 1307, is the death year alike of Jared, Methuselah, and

Lemech. It does not necessarily follow that they are to be thought of as perishing in the Flood; still it is probable that this form of the chronological table is designed to represent how the Sethitic line at last fell in their representatives into moral corruption and incurred the judgment of the Flood. Budde thinks that the Hebrew text changed the 1307 (from Adam to the Flood) of the Samaritan into 1656 for the purpose of making Methuselah alone survive till the year of the Deluge, and the others all die previously; that the 1656 years are derived from the 1657 which according to the Samaritan elapsed from Adam to the death of Noah; he thinks he can also explain the subtraction of the one year.

But all these are mere possibilities. What is here regarded as the intention of the Hebrew may on the contrary be considered as the intention of the Samaritan. One thing is certain, viz. that the increase of the year-marks in the LXX. presupposes the shorter rates of the Hebrew and Samaritan. But if we further ask whether the authentic, *i.e.* the original computation in the text of the Pentateuch, is that of the Hebrew or that of the Samaritan, it must be remembered that the figures in both are based upon arithmetical reflection; and since the Samaritan also can make no higher claim, it speaks in favour of the Hebrew, that its 1656 years show themselves to be the product of an intelligent systematic chronology. For if 1656 years elapsed between Adam and the Deluge, there will be found, on following the Hebrew chronology on to the exodus, 2666 years, and these are, as Alfred von Gutschmid perceives, two-thirds of 4000 years. Hence the number 1656 comes from a system which, according to the before-mentioned Elijah tradition, reckoned the duration of the world to the עולם הבא, the time of Messiah, at 4000 years (*i.e.* 100 generations of 40 years each), and made two-thirds of this entire duration of the world to have elapsed when the exodus and the giving of the law laid the foundation of a new period. If one of the three numbers from Adam to the Flood, 1656 (Heb.), 1307 (Sam.), and 2242 (LXX.), can be regarded as

anything more than an arbitrary product, it is, as Nöldeke also judges (*Untersuchungen*, p. 112), the 1656 of the Hebrew; and I agree with Ed. König ("Beiträge zur biblischen Chronologie, i.," in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 281 sqq.), that the Hebrew has preserved the most ancient and original computation, while the Samaritan and LXX. exhibit in this respect secondary phases of the Old Testament text. It is worthy of remark that the Babylonians, according to Berosos, reckon 120 Sarë (*σαρός*, *i.e.* chief number, from the Accad. *šar*, many, mass = 3600) = 432,000 years, from Aloros to Xisuthros; and that, as Jul. Oppert has shown in the article on the dates of Genesis in the *Götting. Anzeigen*, 1877, No. 10, this 432,000 has with the 1656 years of the Hebrew the common divisor 72.

But the question as to the motives for distributing these 1656 years just as has been done among the ten antediluvian patriarchs, has hitherto defied all ingenuity. What cannot be understood as the work of reflection proves itself to be tradition. What then is our position with respect to the statements of prolonged life, which reach from 777 to 969 years? Every attempt to reduce the years to shorter periods has been vain. Two Byzantine monks, Anianos and Panodoros, and in recent times Hensler, Rask, Lesueur, tried this expedient. The first reckoned the year at three months, the latter at one month, the third (*Revue archéologique*, 1858) at Chaldee Sossi of sixty days. But such reductions are incompatible with the text as it now stands; the statements of the years of generation in the cases of Mahalalel and Henoch make them impossible, while the total amount of the period from Adam to the Flood, which certainly is not put too high at 1656 years, is intolerably dwindled.[1]

On the other hand, so long a duration of life as is spoken of in ch. v. cannot be conceived, of either historic or present

[1] The Babylonian 432,000 years also dwindle, when viewed as the days of a year of 360 days, to 1200 years,—an improbable amount which does not even reach the 1307 of the Samaritan.

human nature. In the present time only one out of 100,000 attains the age of 100, and only one out of 500 that of 90. According to Alex. Becker however, a lifetime of 150 is not uncommon in the snow mountains of South Dagestan, nor, according to Riley, Prince Pückler, and others, one of 200 in the Arabian deserts of Africa. In primæval times however a longer lifetime than even 200 years must be esteemed possible. The state of integrity—says Zöckler in his *Lehre vom Urstande der Menschheit*, 1879—was succeeded by a stage of transition, during which death, the result of sin, but slowly overcame the resistance offered by the strong physical organization of primitive mankind. At all events the climate, weather, and other natural conditions were different from those of the post-diluvian world, while life was much simpler and flowed on in a more equable course. And what was already probable in itself, viz. that men should then live longer than they do at present, is testified by the unanimous voice of popular legends. According to Hesiod, *Ἔργ.* 130, childhood lasted in the silver age 130 years, which presupposes a lifetime of 1000 years in the golden age. 2 Isaiah lxv. 20–22, predicts the restoration of such length of life in the latter days. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 3. 9, repeated in Eusebius, *Præp.* ix. 15) appeals to Egyptian, Chaldee, Phœnician and other ancient testimony for the gradual shortening of human life from 1000 years.

Hence the enormous length of life seems comparatively less strange than the lateness of the first births. Noah does not become a father till his 500th year. It is here certain that the letter conceals some enigma, for such long celibacy is not connected with his piety, Henoch becoming a father at 65. And if we further keep in view the relation of the years of generation to the length of life, in Adam 130 and 939, in Enosh 90 and 905, in Jared 162 and 962, in Henoch 65 and 365 (the number of days in a solar year), the consideration is pressed upon us that a computation which is the result of reflection here takes the place of deficient special tradition. From this we may further infer that the numbers 930, 912

905, etc., designate epochs of antediluvian history which are named after their chief representatives, and that the period of these epochs is allotted to the individual life of these chief representatives, as though it had extended over the whole period.

The Cainitic and Sethitic tables may originally have been one which contained the descendants of Adam, through Cain and Seth, side by side. The names in the two lines were not originally Hebrew,[1] they were therefore linguistically transformed by tradition, and much that is striking in the relation of the names in the one to those in the other may (although it can also, as we saw at iv. 18, be differently explained) be the result of the separation of the one table into two. Moderns, since Buttmann's *Mythologus*, think otherwise, especially Budde, according to whom the original table of the Cainites and that of the Sethites, which was a modification of it, are two independent attempts to deduce primitive mankind from Adam, whose eldest son was according to the one Cain, according to the other Seth. The fratricide was, he thinks, a mere fiction, or else picked up in some out-of-the-way corner of Hebrew tradition, perhaps originally a Canaanite legend, which was first inserted by J^3 for the purpose of finding a place for the Cainitic table of J^1 and the Sethitic table of J^2 in one and the same work. In the fundamental work, *i.e.* in *Q*, which furnishes the scaffolding of the present Genesis, there was no Cainitic table, and nothing about Cain and Abel, but a mere register of the Sethites which has been garnished from that of J^2. It is therefore a fiction, with a tendency, which gave to Cain and Seth a third brother Abel, and invented the fratricide and banishment of Cain.

We feel however greater confidence in the truthfulness of the extant Mosaic picture of primitive history than in this all-knowing hypercriticism, which tears the stones out of position and mixes them promiscuously to form from them a new

[1] The Babylonian names of the ten primitive kings are quite different. See Friedr. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 149.

edifice of hypotheses, which reflects all honour upon its penetration, but offers all the greater insult to the biblical history.

Title, v. 1*a*: *This is the book of the generations of Adam.* סֵפֶר may designate any completed writing, even a document consisting of only a few leaves or of a single one, such as, *e.g.*, a writing of divorcement, Deut. xxiv. 1; or a deed of purchase, Jer. xxxii. 11; or a written memorial, Ex. xvii. 14; Isa. xxx. 8. Gr. Ven. correctly renders: *αὕτη ἡ βίβλος τῶν γεννήσεων*; but like LXX., Luther erroneously takes אדם as a generic instead of a proper name. What follows is not meant to be a regressive genealogy (as St. Matthew applies the *βίβλος γενέσεως* of the LXX. ii. 4, v. 1), but a progressive. Nevertheless, for the purpose of placing the continuation of the beginning made in Adam in the right light, the origin of this beginning itself is recalled, 1*b*: *In the day that Elohim created Adam, He made him in the likeness of Elohim.* In ii. 4 and Num. iii. 1, what follows with בְּיוֹם belongs to the title; here it appears, as at vi. 9, as the beginning of a new sentence. Schrader construes: On the day that God created Adam, etc., He blessed them; but this would be, like i. 1–3, ii. 4–7, an objectionable and clumsy period. The construction of the sentence 1*b* is like Num. iii. 13, viii. 17. Ver. 2 continues in a succession of short sentences like i. 27: *Male and female created He them; and He blessed them, and called their name Adam* (*man*), *in the day when they were created.* There is here another repetition of what was alluded to i. 27, and related in detail in ch. ii., viz. that man was first created as one, and not paired till afterwards. That it was God Himself who called the first created pair אדם may be regarded as referring back to i. 26, where God speaks beforehand of the being with whom He is about to conclude the series of His creations as אדם. It is in the nature of the matter that the name of the first created was a generic name, which afterwards became his proper name. The birth of Seth, ver. 3: *And Adam lived a hundred and thirty years, then he begat in his likeness after his image and called his name Seth.*

After וַיּוֹלֶד (from the Hiph. הוֹלִיד, which is more accurate and customary than ילד, ch. iv.) we have to supply in thought בֵּן (a son), which the narrator omits, because he desires to state in a general manner that Adam transmitted his human nature in his own image. The expression: in his likeness, after his image (comp. i. 26, "in our image, after our likeness"), means to say that the nature of the begotten corresponded to that of the begetter, and indeed in that present precise condition which the self-decision that had meantime taken place involved. The likeness of Adam is not opposed to, though it differs from, the absolute directness of the likeness of God. Adam, not the mother (iv. 25), here appears as the name-giver, the validity of the name depending indeed upon his acquiescence and confirmation. It is as clear as day, says Budde, that the generation of Seth must be regarded as the first human generation. This cannot be inferred from the fact that there is no עוד after ויולד, for after iv. 25 such a עוד was needed, but would be here out of place. Certainly Seth becomes the first human child, if we presuppose that the author of this table of Sethites either knew or desired to know nothing of iv. 25 and what is connected with it. We may regard this as a matter of indifference, for the sources *J* and *Q* have not become canonical, and in their combination the deficit of the one is historically and unhesitatingly met by the plus of the other. The remainder of Adam's lifetime and total amount of his years, vv. 4, 5: *And the days of Adam, after he begat Seth, amounted to eight hundred years, and he begat sons and daughters. And all the days that Adam lived amounted to nine hundred and thirty years, and he died.* With regard to the syntax we remark for here and onwards, that (1) the numbers 2 to 10 are followed by the object numbered in the plural, *e.g.* חֲמֵשׁ שָׁנִים, the higher numbers by the sing., *e.g.* שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה; 65 is expressed, ver. 21, by חמשׁ וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה, ver. 15 more particularly by חמשׁ שָׁנִים וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה; (2) the units precede the tens and both the hundreds; we also say five and sixty, but

not thirty and a hundred, as *e.g.* ver. 3; (3) in the higher compound year marks שָׁנִים, or especially שָׁנָה, is used with the numbers up to ninety-nine, and especially שָׁנָה with the hundreds, *e.g.* חמשׁ ושׁשׁים שָׁנָה ושׁלשׁ מאות שָׁנָה; (4) because שנה is feminine, the masculine form of the numerals 3–10, which is syntactically the feminine, is combined with it; (5) מֵאָה שָׁנָה (a hundred in years) is used interchangeably, and is of like significance with מְאַת שָׁנָה (a century of years). We have translated the verb היה in the summings up by "amount to" (make up); it means to become, and here the becoming, *i.e.* the resulting total. Summary of Seth's life, vv. 6–8: *And Seth lived a hundred and five years, and begat Enôš. And Seth lived, after he begat Enosh, eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters. And all the days of Seth amounted to nine hundred and twelve years, and he died.* Summary of the life of Enosh, vv. 9–11: *And Enosh lived ninety years, and begat Kenan. And Enosh lived, after he begat Kenan, eight hundred and fifteen years, and begat sons and daughters. And all the days of Enosh amounted to nine hundred and five years, and he died.* Summary of the life of Kenan, vv. 12–14: *And Kenan lived seventy years, and begat Mahalalel. And Kenan lived, after he begat Mahalalel, eight hundred and forty years, and begat sons and daughters. And all the days of Kenan amounted to nine hundred and ten years, and he died.* Summary of the life of Mahalalel, vv. 15–17: *And Mahalalel lived sixty and five years, and begat Jared. And Mahalalel lived, after he begat Jared, eight hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters. And all the days of Mahalalel amounted to eight hundred and ninety-five years, and he died.* Summary of the life of Jared, vv. 18–20: *And Jared lived a hundred and sixty-two years, and begat Henoch. And Jared lived, after he begat Henoch, eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters. And all the days of Jared were nine hundred and sixty-two years, and he died.* One summary after another ends with וַיָּמֹת, the pausal form of וַיָּמָת. Death always forms the dark background of even these long lifetimes. All at last,

from Adam onwards (Rom. v. 14), fall victims to this reigning king of terrors. Henoch alone forms an exception, and is translated to another life without dying.

Summary of the life of Henoch, vv. 21–24: *And Henoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methusélah. And Henoch walked with God, after he begat Methusélah, three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters. And the sum of the days of Henoch amounted to three hundred and sixty-five years. And Henoch walked with God, and he was not; for Elohim took him.* At ver. 22 the question of astonishment is suggested: Was he not then godly till after the birth of his eldest son? (Budde, p. 170 sqq.). Jerome meets this question by inserting *et vixit* before *postquam genuit*, as does also the LXX. in de Lagarde's text. But *ambulavit cum Deo* itself stands in the case of Henoch for *et vixit* in the other summaries; but ver. 21 is not yet the place, as the narrator has the tact to perceive, for giving up the ויחי everywhere else employed. האלהים, used twice, is once exchanged for אלהים; Budde thinks that the reason for Henoch's removal was perhaps inserted from the Jahvistic table of Sethites, where perhaps לפני ה׳ stood for את־האלהים, which R. transformed to correspond better with the neighbouring אלהים (p. 174 sq.). But is not הִתְהַלֵּךְ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים defended as proceeding from *Q* by vi. 9; and is not התהלך אֵת, which is in the Old Testament predicated exclusively of Henoch and Noah, something different from הִתְהַלֵּךְ לְפָנַי, xvii. 1, xxiv. 40, and אַחֲרֵי, Deut. xiii. 5? Are not האלהים and אלהים similarly exchanged *e.g.* Jonah iv. 7 sq.; and may not any piece of writing be mangled by such overstrained ingenuity? "To walk with God" means to the narrator the most intimate communion and closest intercourse with the Deity. Similarly does Mal. ii. 6 say of Levi or the priest, as admitted to the greatest nearness to God, and as a teacher of the knowledge of God whose behaviour accorded thereto: הָלַךְ אִתִּי. Henoch's intimate communion with God, from which the Enoch-legend inferred his close acquaintance with the secrets

of the Deity (Judg. v. 14 sq.) and the world of spirits, is, considering the close relation in which the Bible and antiquity in general placed spirits and stars, connected also with his being esteemed, by Eusebius, *Præp.* ix. 17, comp. *H. E.* vii. 32, as the predecessor of Abraham in the knowledge of the stars, and is in accordance with his departure from the world. The consecutive וְאֵינֶנּוּ, used with the force of a verb in the perfect, is the expression of a sudden disappearance (comp. xlii. 13, 36; Job vii. 8; Ges. *Thes.* p. 82). On a sudden he was gone, without sickness, without dying, without burial; for Elohim had taken him, *i.e.* removed him from this visible world and taken Him to Himself, and hence to a higher life (לָקַח, as at the going up of Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 3, 9, 10; comp. the passages in Ps. lxxiii. 24, xlix. 16, which perhaps are allusions to this). Not that he was made a participator of the glory which awaits the righteous at the resurrection. Christ, who was the first to rise, was also the first to be glorified. The glorification of Henoch would deprive Him of the precedence, and the translation of Henoch to the heaven of God and the angels would deprive Him of the honour of having opened to men the heaven, in which no Old Testament visions show as yet any holy human being. God translated him from this world of sin and sorrow without letting him be subject to death (Wisd. iv. 10 sq.; Heb. xi. 5), therefore by means of ἐπένδυσις without ἔκδυσις (2 Cor. v. 4; 1 Cor. xv. 51 sq.; 1 Thess. iv. 17) into a condition which resembled the lost Paradise (Irenæus, *c. Hær.* iv. 5) He thus exempted him from the law of death or the return to dust, showing thereby, that though He had subjected men to this law, He had not bound Himself to it. The Babylonian tradition makes Hasisadra (Xisuthros = Noah) to have experienced such a removal. Similar events in heathen myths are kindred images of heavenward aspirations (Nägelsbach, *Homerische Theol.* vii. 32). This wondrous issue of Henoch's life, falling in the middle of the time between Adam and the Flood, was a preaching of repentance (Ecclus. xliv. 16), and to the faithful

an object for the eye of hope to rest upon—it was in the midst of the reign of death a finger-post pointing backwards to show that an ascending development of man was possible even without death, and forwards to show that the aspiration after redemption from the dominion of death and Hades would not remain unsatisfied. Summary of Methuselah's life, vv. 25–27: *And Methuselah lived a hundred and eighty-seven years, and begat Lemech. And Methuselah lived, after he begat Lemech, seven hundred and eighty-two years, and begat sons and daughters. And all the days of Methuselah amounted to nine hundred and sixty-nine years: and he died.* The name מְתוּשֶׁלַח might mean a man of missiles (שלח), therefore an armed man, but more probably a man of sprouting (Assyr. *šillû*), a scion, a descendant. Summary of Lemech's life, with a Jahvistic explanation of the name of Noah interwoven, vv. 28–32: *And Lemech lived a hundred and eighty-two years, and begat a son, and called his name Noah, saying: This same will comfort us from our work and from the toil of our hands, from the ground which Jahveh hath cursed. And Lemech lived five hundred and ninety-five years, and begat sons and daughters. And the sum of the days of Lemech amounted to seven hundred and seventy-seven years: and he died.* Lemech the Cainite was full of insolent defiance; Lemech the Sethite, on the contrary, has no other joy than in the promised future. When Noah, the tenth from Adam, was born to him, he combines with him the hope of a final close of the troublous days which have hitherto prevailed, and in which the curse of sin has borne rule. His words breathe an elevated and joyous frame, and are in consequence euphoniously and poetically arranged. The Jahvistic explanation of the name נֹחַ has been unjustly found fault with (*DMZ.* xxiv. 208). Proper names are as a rule meant only as a reminder or a hint (זֵכֶר) of the thoughts intended (see Grünbaum in *DMZ.* xl. 253). Besides, the phonetic groups נח and נחם are both expressions imitative of the sound of breathing again; נִחַם מִן, to comfort, *i.e.* to cause to breathe again from something, is here a more significant synonym of הֵנִיחַ מִן, to procure rest (*respirationem*)

from anything, Deut. xii. 10; Isa. xiv. 3; comp. Esth. ix. 16. While in the house of Cain there is rejoicing even to defiance over the newly invented alleviations and means of security for earthly life, we here perceive a deep sigh over its toil on account of the Divine wrath. Lemech hopes that his son is the man who will introduce a turn for the better. And he was not deceived.[1] For though the final consolation was reserved for the more distant future, yet the transition from a world in which the curse predominated to a world in which the blessing predominated, and over which the rainbow was extended as the sign of a new covenant of God with man, a pledge of the future total abolition of the curse, the future sole supremacy of love, was accomplished in Noah. At ver. 32 a start is made towards completing these Toledoth with the tenth genealogical member: *And Noah was five hundred years old: and he begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.* The chronological method of these historical tables, according to which computation is always made (apart from the case of Seth) from the birth of the first-born to that of the succeeding first-born, places it beyond doubt that Shem, and not Japheth, as might appear from ch. x., is to be thought of as the eldest. The two other sons are named together with the first-born without the year of their birth being stated. The five hundredth year being that of the birth of Shem, and the *terminus a quo* for that of the others. They are named together, because they bear the same relation to the post-diluvian triple-branched human race that the twelve sons of Jacob do to the chosen people. How long Noah lived after the birth of Shem, and what was the entire duration of his life, is not here told, the tenth member of the Toledoth being left unfinished, because it is to be independently treated farther on as תולדת נח with the history of the Flood inserted. We are first however made acquainted, in a passage of peculiar colouring, with the corruption of morals which had set in in the days of Noah.

[1] Budde thinks that it was J^3 who added v. 29, with reference to the cultivation of the vine which began with Noah.

TABLE TO GENESIS, CH. V. (comp. ix. 39).

The Antediluvian Patriarchs.

The figures in brackets in the LXX. column are the readings of the Cod. Alexandrinus.

Names of the Ten	Heb. Text.			Samar. Text.			Septuagint.			Year of Birth from the commencement of the World, according to the Hebrew Text.	Year of Death from the commencement of the World, according to the Hebrew Text.
	Age at Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Whole Duration of Life.	Age at Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Whole Duration of Life.	Age at Birth of First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Whole Duration of Life.		
Adam, . .	130	800	930	130	800	930	230	700	930	1	930
Seth, . .	105	807	912	105	807	912	205	707	912	130	1042
Enosh, . .	90	815	905	90	815	905	190[1]	715	905	235	1140
Kenan, . .	70	840	910	70	840	910	170	740	910	325	1235
Mahalalel, .	65	830	895	65	830	895	165	730	895	395	1290
Jered, . .	162	800	962	62	785	847	162	800	962	460	1422
Henoch, .	65	300	365	65	300	365	165	200	365	622	987
Methuselah,	187	782	969	67	653	720	167[2] (187)	802 (782)	969	687	1656
Lemech, .	182	595	777	53	600	653	188	565	753	874	1651
Noah, . .	500	450	950	500	450	950	500	450	950	1056	2006
To the Flood,	100			100			100				
From Adam to the Flood,	1656			1307			2242[3]	(2262)		1656, Shem's 98th year.	

[1] Beside 190, the reading 290 is also found (Simon Halatensis in Assemani *Bibl.* iii. 213), but the assumed 3000 years from the Creation to the death of Peleg (whose name Hesychius interprets ἥμισυ, as denoting the middle of the 6000 years of the world down to Christ) result all the same (Καϊνᾶν, with his 130 years in Gen. xi. being omitted) from the number 2262 (which presupposes the reading 190, and also 187), by adding to this 135 years to the birth of Selah, 130 to that of Eber, 134 to that of Peleg, and 339 of Peleg's lifetime. Ephrem, on the other hand, reckons from the Flood to Abraham 940, and consequently from Adam to Abraham 3000 years, which agrees with neither of the three systems. On the 6000 years of prechristian history, see *Chronicon Pasch.* ii. p. 117, ed. Bonn. The Book of Jubilees follows the figures of the Samaritan.

[2] Changed by Demetrius, Jul. Africanus and many others into 187 (as A**), because with the other computation Methuselah would have survived the Deluge fourteen years.

[3] This number is chiefly advocated by the Fathers. Josephus reckons from the Creation to the Flood 2656, or rather 2256 years. See Kuenen, *Les Origines du Texte Masoréthique*, p. 35.

JUDGMENT CALLED FORTH, THE LONG-SUFFERING OF GOD, AND THE DECREE OF JUDGMENT, VI. 1–8.

The origin of sin was related in chs. ii. and iii., and its increase in the Cainitic race with which the Sethitic is contrasted in ch. iv., and here its almost universal sway, which inevitably entailed the judgment of the Flood, vv. 1, 2: *And it came to pass, when men began to be many on the earth, and daughters were born to them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair, and took to themselves wives of all that they chose.* In וַיְהִי כִּי (like xxvi. 8, xxvii. 1; Deut. xi. 29), כִּי is the same as בַּאֲשֶׁר. לָרֹב is distinguished from לְרִבּוֹת, as to become many is from to multiply. The מִן of מִכֹּל is generalizing and partitive, like vii. 22, ix. 10, xvii. 12, Deut. xv. 7, Lev. iv. 2, Song of Sol. iii. 6: whichever, *quascunque*, they chose. בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים being everywhere else the name of the angels, Job i. 2, xxxviii. 7, Ps. xxix. 1, lxxxix. 7, Dan. iii. 25, and indeed *nomen naturæ*, as מַלְאָכִים is *nomen officii*, it is most obvious to think here of angels. So the LXX. (the text of which fluctuates between ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ in Philo, *de gigantibus*, Eusebius, Augustine, and Ambrose, and the reading υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, which has prevailed since Cyril and Augustine), Philo, *ibid.*; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 3. 1; Aquila (υἱοὶ τῶν Θεῶν, also Jerome: *Deos intelligens angelos sive sanctos*); the Peshito, which takes over בני אלהים, like Job i. 6, ii. 1 (comp. xxxviii. 7), untranslated; the book of Henoch, which understands the heavenly עירין, ἐγρήγοροι; the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Book of Jubilees, the later Jewish Haggadah (*e.g.* in *Midrash Abchir* in Jellinek, *Kleine Midraschim*, pt. iv.), and most of the ancient Fathers, from Justin and Athenagoras to Cyprian and Lactantius, also Methodius, Ambrosius, Sulpicius Severus, and the author of the work *de singularitate clericorum*. Tertullian explains 1 Cor. xi. 10 by referring to this passage (*adv. Marc.* v. 18, *de virg. velandis*, c. 7, comp. the Fragment of Clemens Alex.

p. 980, ed. Potter). Grünbaum has treated on the motley collection of myths relating to the intercourse of angels with the daughters of men, in *DMZ.* xxxi. 225 sqq.

But could angels have had carnal intercourse with human women? According to *Bereshith rabba*, c. 26, R. Simeon b. Jochai pronounced an anathema upon all who should understand בני האלהים of angels (though the Sohar makes him affirm it himself); Augustine (*civ. Dei*, xv. 23) advises rather to relinquish the apocryphal fable; Jerome reserves his judgment; Cyril of Alexandria reckons this opinion among the *ἀτοπώτατα*; Theodoret calls its advocates *ἐμβρόντητοι καὶ ἄγαν ἠλίθιοι* (*Quæst. in Gen.* § 47); Philastrius numbers it among the heresies; the ancient Protestant interpreters regard it as a Jewish Platonizing fancy.

Hence expedients have always been sought for. Onkelos translates בני האלהים by בְּנֵי רַבְרְבַיָּא; R. Simeon b. Jochai by בְּנֵי דַיָּנַיָּא; as also Ephrem, though he vacillates, by בני דַיָּנֵי; Symm. renders *filii potentium;* while Targ. Jer., the Samaritan translations, Saadia, Arabs Erpenii, understand by בני האלהים, sons of men of eminent position (like בני עליון, Ps. lxxxii. 6), and by בְּנוֹת הָאָדָם, daughters of people of low condition (comp. אדם, *opp.* איש, Ps. xlix. 3). Spinoza also, together with Rashi, thus explains the expression in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus;* and Herder, Schiller, Phil. Buttmann have given the narrative an imaginative colouring in accordance herewith. But men of eminent position are elsewhere distinguished as בני איש from בני אדם. Much rather perhaps may בני האלהים be understood of children of God in a spiritual sense.

So Jul. Africanus already has: *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σὴθ δίκαιοι* (see Gelzer, Sextus Jul. Africanus, 1880, p. 62), rejecting the other view, on account of the double reading of the LXX. with *μυθεύεται ὡς οἶμαι*; so also the *Clement. Recog.*, according to the text of Rufins: *homines justi qui angelorum vixerant vitam* (i. 29), where nevertheless the view brought forward in the eighth of the homilies concerning the mingling of "angelic fire and female blood" peeps through; so too *Adamsbuch*,

p. 100 sq., translated by Dillmann from the Æthiopic, and Gregor Barhebräus in his *Syrische Chronik* (Sethites who, renouncing marriage, retired to the solitude of Mount Hermon), in opposition to which the old view is still found in Bardesanes' "Book of Fate" (in Cureton's *Spicilegium*, 1885); Cyril Alex., Procopius, Augustine, who all understand it of the godly race of Sethites who, according to tradition, dwelt far from the Cainites in the neighbourhood of Paradise, as also Luther, after Lyra, Melanchthon, Calvin, etc.; and among moderns, Hengst., Keil, J. P. Lange, Rampf (*Brief Judä*, 1854), Keerl (*Lehre von der Herrlichkeit Gottes*, 1863), Veith (*Anfänge des Menschengeschlechts*, 1865), Scholz (*Die Ehen der Söhne Gottes*, 1865), etc.,—all these find here the statement, that as the human race became more widely propagated, the distinction between Sethites and Cainites was obliterated, and godly living swallowed up by worldly living.

The following reasons however are decisive against this ethic comprehension of the two notions. (1) Though the notion of the fatherhood of God does indeed make a faint start towards obtaining beyond its theocratic limitation to Israel (Ex. iv. 22; Deut. xiv. 1, xxxii. 5; Hos. ii. 1) an ethical and general human significance (see especially Ps. lxxiii. 15, not however Prov. xiv. 26, which must be explained according to Prov. xx. 7 and the like), yet this extension and deepening goes neither in the Old nor the New Testament so far, that בני האלהים and בני האדם could in the prosaic style of historic writing mean children of God and daughters of worldly men. Such a view is here refuted by the context itself, for (2) after האדם has been used in ver. 1 of the human race without any secondary meaning, it is inconceivable that בנות האדם should signify women belonging to that portion of mankind which was alienated from God, and not to the human race in general. Hence it seems that we must really assume, with Kurtz (*Die Söhne Gottes*, etc. 1858), Hoelemann ("Die vorsündflutlichen Hünen," in the *Neuen Bibelstudien*), Köhler (*Biblical Gesch.*), Lenormant (*Les*

Origines de l'Histoire, 1880, c. vii.) and others, that a sexual intercourse of angels with women is here related. It was thus that Jude in his Epistle, ver. 6 sq., in agreement with the book of Henoch, understands the matter; for τούτοις, ver. 7, refers back to angels, the unnatural sin of the men of Sodom, who burnt with lust towards angels, being compared with the unnatural sin of angels, who were in love with women. Schelling rightly finds in the passage, vi. 1–4, a peculiarly deep mythological tinge; and Dinter justly remarks in his *Schullehrer Bibel*, that "only the scholar understands its true meaning by comparison of this narrative with the legends of other ancient nations." Among these are those Græco-Roman myths of the amours of the gods which are branded as the disgrace of heathenism by Christian apologists. The Eranian theory, that a demoniacal corruption of morals preceded the appearance of Zarathustra, and that he dashed to pieces the bodies of the angels, because they had made an evil use of them for wandering on the earth, and especially for amatory dealings with earthly women, sounds more serious and nearer to the scriptural account (*Jaçna*, ix. 46).

The most important of the reasons asserted by Keil (*Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1855, 2) for the ethical view of the בני האלהים is, that לקח אשה is everywhere used for the contraction of actual and lasting marriages. And this is certainly the case; comp. also נשׂא אשׁה of the rape of the women of Benjamin (Judg. xxi. 23). The narrative as it runs would hence mean, not merely single acts of intercourse, but lasting and, with respect to the angels (Matt. xxii. 30), unnatural relations with women, who are subjected by superior force and crafty seduction to their will. To make this to a certain degree conceivable, we must admit an assumption of human bodies by angels; and hence not merely transitory appearances of angels in human form, but actual angelic incarnation. Even Servius however on *Æneid*, vi. 13, where gods occupy the place of the sons of God, does not go so far, but seeks to make the matter more conceivable by saying: *corporibus se*

infundebant potestates supernæ. This leads to something like possession, and here we must let the matter rest. They were dæmons who accomplished what is here narrated, by means of men whom they made their instruments, *i.e.* through demoniacs, who with demoniacal violence drew women within the radius of their enchantments and made them subserve the purpose of their sensual lusts. In this we are perhaps going farther than the narrator, who here reduces to their germ of fact the obscene stories which heathen mythology delights to depict. He is satisfied with degrading to בני אלהים the אלהים of the heathen myths (as *e.g.* Plato in the *Kratylos*, 398*a*, says of the heroes as demi-gods: *πάντες δήπου γεγόνασιν ἐρασθένος*[1] *ἢ θεὸς θνητῆς ἢ θνητὰ θεᾶς*). The short section, vi. 1–4, is so peculiar, that it might come from a separate source, perhaps the same as iv. 17–24 (the inventions in the Cainite race), with which the Phœnician circle of myths alone offers points of contact. But to isolate vi. 1–4, with Dillmann and others, in such wise as to deny knowledge of the Flood to the original narrator, is arbitrary. Whether vi. 1–4 may have been placed here by *J* or *R* (the redactor)—and who can decide this point?—we have still no right to charge either the one or the other with having estranged it from its original meaning. What ingenuity is able to effect has been shown by Budde, who, after having excluded as of more recent insertion the tree of life and all connected with it from the history of Paradise, places vi. 3 between iii. 21 and iii. 23 as a penal decree in consequence of the fall, and is of opinion that "an essential element of the history of Paradise has been preserved as by a miracle in vi. 3" (p. 244). His *J* also knows nothing of the Flood. We think that even if vi. 3 is to be understood of the diminution of the duration of human life, there is still no sufficient reason why the narrator of vi. 1–4 should not have regarded the disturbance of the boundary between the spiritual and human sphere as a portion of the general and deep corruption which brought about the Deluge.

[1] So in Stallbaum, Schanz, etc.; *ἱρασθέντες* is an old error of transcription.

The penal sentence, 3*a*: *And Jahveh said: My spirit shall not always act in man, for he indeed is also flesh.* רוּחַ as the name of the wind is fem., as the name of the spirit it is double-gendered. It is not the Holy Spirit and His office of chastisement which is here meant (as Targ. II. and III. paraphrase, and Symm. Græc. Ven. and Luth. translate), but, the object of the resolution being the destruction or shortening of physical life, the breath of life by which men are animated, ii. 7, and which by reason of its Divine origin and kinship with the Divine nature, or even as merely a Divine gift, is called רוּחִי by God. This acts in man so long as it animates and rules his corporeal nature. יָדוֹן is the jussive of דון=דין, Job xix. 29, *Keri*, Niph. נָדוֹן, in the meaning of to act (*walten*) (with the acc. Zech. iii. 7, to rule, *verwalten*), from which also אָרוֹן, as elative form for *adwan*, may be derived. The verb דון is also Assyrian; this, together with the middle vowelled *dânu* with its impf. *idîn*, has also the reduplicated *danânu*, to be powerful. But the Heb. דון (דין) means *walten*, to act, to rule, not *gewaltig sein*, to be powerful, so as to let us translate with Riehm: My spirit shall not for ever be powerful in men because of their (the sons of God) error. The meaning too of the Arab. دون, to be low (to which דון, in the meaning, to have under one = *überwalten*, to rule over, might be referred), is alien to the Hebrew, on which account the explanation *humilietur* (Ges. Tuch, Ew. Dillm.) is inadmissible, as is also the explanation *habitet* (LXX. Jer. Onk. Syr. Saad.), which is based upon the confusion of ידון with ידור (Ps. lxxxiv. 11). The meaning *walten* however gives a consistent sense, so that there is no need to stray to a distance, or even, with Nöldeke,[1] to find the passage "inexplicable." לְעֹלָם . . . לֹא, placed as here, has elsewhere the sense of "now and never (absolutely not)," here of "not for ever." Schrader compares Jer. iii. 12 (Ps. ciii. 9) and Lam.

[1] In *DMZ.* xxxvii. 534. It is there rightly shown that the verbs ע"י are not abbreviated Hiphil forms of those in ע"ו, דין and דון having both been in use together down to the time of the Talmud.

iii. 31. God will not let His spirit act in man to an unlimited future. He will take it back, so that man as an inanimate natural formation shall fall again to the dust from which he was taken, and the history of man shall be over. And why? בְּשַׁגַּם הוּא בָשָׂר. If שגם is thus pointed with Kametz it is the inf. of שגג, to stagger hither and thither, to go astray (comp. שגה of the intoxication of passion, Prov. v. 19 sq.): in their wandering (that of the men of that time) he (man as a species) is flesh, *i.e.* in such going astray to ungodly lust, man, the being who is both spiritual and material, becomes, in opposition to his original nature and destiny, entirely flesh. Such is, down to Dillmann, the prevailing interpretation. But even the formation בְּשַׁגַּם is very precarious, there is nothing analogous to it but לְבָרָם (= *l*ᵉ*barram*), Eccles. iii. 18. Less ambiguous would be בְּשַׁגָּגָם or בִּשְׁגָגָם, according to the formations, Isa. xxx. 18; Ps. cii. 14. The *enallage numeri* is also objectionable, since the sing. הוא here interchanging with the plur. בשגם is not, as *e.g.* at Ps. v. 10, Isa. ii. 8, an individualizing, but a collective notion. The combination of the letters בשגם with הוא (not היה, *factus est*) gives the impression of a *quoniam*, stating a reason; this is what might be expected, and the LXX. (*διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας*) Targums, Samar., the ancients in general and Jewish expositors translate accordingly, without being perplexed by the fact that the vocalization is not in accordance therewith. Heidenheim, who, in his great unfinished commentary on Genesis of the year 1797, points indeed בִּשְׁגָם, but translates, because he also is flesh, was the first to remark in his edition of the Pentateuch, *Meôr Enajim* 1818, that an ancient Codex, the Soncinian edit. of 1488, and other ancients vocalize בִּשְׁגַם with Pathach. And this we esteem correct. That אשר=ש appears only this once in the Pentateuch need the less astonish us, that it is used once only in the book of Job, xix. 29. When Dillmann maintains that this relative ש is North Palestinian and later Hebrew and unknown to the Pentateuch, it may be replied, that according to his own view, vi. 1–4 is a peculiar section and has a Phœnician

tinge, and then that this ש occurs in Deborah's song, Judg. v. 7, and is therefore, if North Palestinian, certainly not late Hebrew. Also that apparently the proper name מִישָׁאֵל (who is what God (is) ?), Ex. vi. 22, Lev. x. 4, perhaps also מְתוּשָׁאֵל, iv. 18 (if it is the same as the Assyr. *mutu ša ilu*), contains it. בְּשָׁ is the same as בַּאֲשֶׁר, xxxix. 9, 23, and שַׁ is elsewhere also, Judg. v. 7, Song Sol. i. 7, exchanged for שָׁ (שָׁנַם, Eccles. i. 17 and frequently), in an open syllable שָׁ, Judg. vi. 17.[1] Hence the reason for the penal sentence would run: because he also is flesh. The reference of הוא to רוחי is excluded. Kn. explains: he also as well as other earthly beings. But certainly this is incorrect, for where there is בשר there is נפש, and where there is נפש there also is רוח; but only man can become entirely בשׂר by the spirit losing its rule over the flesh; the carnalized man is as it were devoid of spirit, he is *πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχων* (Jude 19). Neither, on the other hand, is the reference of גם to the whole sentence, as by Nolde in the *Partikel-Concordanz: eo quod* (he punctuates בִּשְׁנַם) *certe ipse caro*, satisfactory. What is most obvious is to take גם הוא together, like גם זה, Eccles. i. 17: He too on his part, *i.e.* in the retaliative sense (as *e.g.* Isa. lxvi. 3 sq.): God will no longer let His spirit act in man, because he too on his part has withdrawn himself from the action of the spirit and is entirely identified with flesh. The notion of flesh is here not merely a physical, but at the same time an ethical one, like the New Testament *σάρξ σαρκικός*, the flesh being so called, not as sensible, transitory externalism, but as unspiritualized, unbridled sensuousness. If then God takes His רוח from man, he falls, according to Ps. civ. 29, a prey to death. God is therefore about to inflict upon the human race the penalty of extirpation, but He does not do this at once, because He is long-suffering, *3b; And let his days be a hundred and twenty years.* Whether we understand this second half of the penal sentence as a diminution of the length of life, or as the grant of a

[1] The Babylonian system of punctuation has throughout שַׁ and אֲשַׁר. See Pinsker, *Einleitung*, p. xxi.

gracious respite, the expression is still strikingly sparing in words. In the first case the meaning is, that the days which man has *henceforth* to live shall amount to one hundred and twenty years; in the second, that the days he has *yet* to live shall amount to one hundred and twenty years; in the former we miss מֵעַתָּה, in the latter עוֹד. The alternative cannot be decided by the style. It is strange that such expositors as Hävernick and Baumgarten should, like Philo and Josephus before them, understand the saying of a diminution of the length of life, for to make 120 the maximum is opposed to the fact that the post-diluvian patriarchs from Shem to Terah attained to a greater age. For our part we also accept the view that *J* wrote this paragraph without having *Q* before him,—but that this, vi. 1–4, was originally unconnected with the history of the Flood (Reuss), and that the writer knew nothing at all of a Flood (Dillm.), results in our estimation from a consistently bungling hunt for contradictions. And even when the above-mentioned view is accepted, the 120 years has still the unquestionable durations of Sarah's life 127 years, of Abraham's 175, Isaac's 180, and Jacob's 147 against it. Moses was 120 years old (Deut. xxxiv. 7[1]), as was, according to Herodot. i. 163, Arganthonios, king of Tartessos, and according to iii. 23 the greater part of the Æthiopians; but for the primitive age, to which this statement at all events belongs, 120 years seems too low a figure for the maximum of longevity. In Jewish popular language, indeed, 120 years are proverbial for a long life; see *e.g.* a Hebrew inscription in the church of S. Giuliano at Venice, of the year 1544, in praise of its restorer Dr. Gianotti of Ravenna, because his skill had been able to prolong the life of man יותר ממאה ועשרים שנה. Nevertheless both ancient and modern Jewish expositors, *e.g.* Rashi and Reggio, Abenezra and Heidenheim, explain this 120 years of

[1] Because Moses was 120 years old, and בשנם has the same numerical value (345) as משה, בשנם becomes in the Jewish Midrash (*e.g. Lekach tob*, p. יז) and in Samaritan lays a symbolical name of Moses, see Geiger in *DMZ.* xxviii. 489–491; comp. Nestle, *ib.* xxvii. 509, according to which Trebellius Pollio in *vita Claudii* and Barhebräus ascribe to Moses 125 years of life.

a respite accorded to men for the purpose of obviating by repentance the judgment of extermination. It is in this sense that the Targums and Luther paraphrase the saying, and that the Midrash, Jerome in his *Quæstiones*, and Augustine in *Civ. Dei*, xv. 24, explain it. Among the most recent expositors, Abr. Geiger on the Jewish, and Köhler in his *Biblischen Gesch.* on the Christian side, and now Schrader also, advocate this view, according to which יָמָיו does not refer, as *e.g.* in Ps. cix. 8, to the lifetime of a single man, but to that of men taken together, *i.e.* of mankind at that era. A hundred and twenty years are a double Sosse. In the Babylonio-Assyrian sexagesimal system,[1] which preceded the centesimal system, computations were made by Sosses (sušš*u* = 60), Neres (600), and Sares (3600). But the figure of the respite granted may also be taken according to the scriptural symbolism of numbers. 40 is the number for the time of waiting and transition, 120 the tripling of this number of the crisis. In this time of waiting there arose for the generation of the Flood—says the Midrash on Genesis, section 30—a בָּרוֹז, viz. Noah. Announcing the threatening judgment, he became, according to 2 Pet. ii. 5, δικαιοσύνης κήρυξ. But the call to repentance of this announcement was without result, ver. 4: *The Nephilim arose on the earth in those days; and also afterwards, when the sons of God joined themselves unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, those were the Gibborim which were of old, men of renown.* The notice, $4^{a\alpha}$, is of the same kind as xii. 6, xiii. 7; the order of the words is also similar, but the connection with what precedes is wanting. A connecting וְ was however inadmissible, and the narrator does not write וַיִּהְיוּ, because he wants to give emphatic prominence to the subject הַנְּפִלִים. Even Dillmann allows that the narrator regards the נפילים as proceeding from the demoniacal cohabitations, although he translates הָיוּ, *fuerunt*. In sentences

[1] On the Babylonian sexagesimal system and its supposed origin, see Cantor, *Gesch. der Mathematik*, kap. iii.: *Die Babylonier*, and the article, there made use of, of Friedr. Delitzsch: "Soss, Ner, Sar," in the *Ægyptolog. Zeitschr.* 1878, p. 56 sqq.

however of similar construction, like vii. 6, x. 15, 17, it means entrance into appearance, then why not here also *exstiterunt*, *i.e.* they entered into existence? The נפילים are the same as the ὑψηλοὶ γίγαντες, Judith xvi. 6, who, according to Wisd. xiv. 6, 3 Macc. ii. 4, comp. Apollodor. i. 7. 2, fell victims to the Deluge. If γίγας could be combined with γίς = *Fίς*, *vis* (but see Curtius, *Etym.* No. 128, according to which, coming from the √ *ga*, to grow, it means as a word of comparison one who has grown tall, comp. Lat. *ingens*), the derivation of נפיל from פיל or פול = Assyr. *pûl*, to be strong or powerful (whence *abnê pûlê*, blocks, squares, and the proper name *Pûluv*), would commend itself. It would then be formed as נָזִיר is from זיר or זור, but both these derivations are very uncertain. On the other hand, Aquila's οἱ ἐπιπίπτοντες, whence Luther translates "Tyrannen" (in the comm. *homines violenti et injurii*), is also inadmissible, because נפל cannot of itself have the meaning of hostile attack and surprise. We must perhaps take נפל in the sense of Isa. xxvi. 18, comp. נֵפֶל, abortion (Mühlau-Volck, after Oehler), and regard נפילים as designating, like chance-child = bastard, the fallen as unnaturally begotten. "In those days" refers, if we have correctly understood ver. 3*b*, to the prediluvian times, and "also after that" to the period of the allowed respite, and not as, according to Num. xiii. 33, it might be thought, to the time after the Flood, for what the spies there relate from hearsay cannot determine the conditions of what is here stated historically. וְגַם אַחֲרֵי־כֵן אֲשֶׁר means *atque etiam postea quum* (אשר, like xxx. 38; Lev. iv. 22), and יבוא is equally past, as תָּבֹאן, xxx. 38. To have carnal intercourse with a woman is euphemistically expressed by בוא אל (to go in unto her), xvi. 2, xxx. 3, xxxviii. 8, Deut. xxii. 13, or less euphemistically by בוא על, xix. 31; Deut. xxv. 5. The apodosis does not begin with וַיִּלְדוּ לָהֶם, in which case וַיֵּלְדוּ or וַתֵּלַדְנָה must have been said. Hence the sense is, that also afterwards, when the sons of God associated with the daughters of men and the latter bore children unto them (the dæmonian begetters), such

נפילים came into existence. הֵמָּה will then have to be referred to these later born beings, the narrator, like later Greek mythology, distinguishing between a gigantic race and a heroic race which followed it. Three particulars are told us of these later born: (1) They were the heroes, the *ἡμιθεῶν γένος ἀνδρῶν*, of Homer, *Il.* xii. 23, and of Hesiod's fourth of the five ages of the ancient world, who (2) belonged to the primitive age, עוֹלָם, in the sense of *κόσμος ἀρχαῖος*, 2 Pet. ii. 5—a separate member of the sentence, on which account הגִּבֹּרִים has Tebir, and מֵעוֹלָם the still stronger separative Tiphchah; (3) they were men of renown, *i.e.* famous in popular legends (Num. xvi. 2), much spoken of, *πολυθρύλλητοι*.

The definite decree of judgment, 5–7. The motive, ver. 5: *And Jahveh saw that great was the wickedness of man on earth, and that all the images of the thoughts of his heart were only evil the whole day.* The character of the picture is as dark as possible. The depravity is designated by רַבָּה (*Milra*, and therefore an adj.) as intensely great and widespread; by יֵצֶר מַחְשְׁבֹת לִבּוֹ (יֵצֶר, Jahvistico-Deuteronomic, viii. 21; Deut. xxxi. 21, of the forms of thought and will in their continual course) as profoundly inward, and pervading the heart (= *νοῦς*, the property of self-consciousness and self-determination); by כָּל־יֵצֶר as total, and by רַק רַע (opp. to אַךְ טוֹב, Ps. lxxiii. 1; comp. Deut. xxviii. 33 with the same, xvi. 15) as radical; by כָּל־הַיּוֹם, *per totum diem = omni tempore*, as continual and habitual. Result of the judicial cognition, ver. 6: *And it repented Jahveh that He had made man upon earth, and He grieved in His heart.* The Niph. נִחַם means to fetch a deep breath, to grieve, and especially to feel repentance. הִתְעַצֵּב, to pierce oneself, to experience piercing, and, as אֶל־לִבּוֹ emphasizes it, heart-piercing sorrow, sounds even more anthropopathic. Just so does Jahveh say, 1 Sam. xv. 11, נחמתי, and soon after this we read, 1 Sam. xv. 29: God is not man that He should repent. On the one hand, what Clem. Alex. under the influence of the Stoa asserts, that God is absolute apathy, is, when rightly understood (see on Hos. xi. 9), not untrue; on the

other, it is not less true, if rightly understood, that God feels repentance when He sees the original design of His love rendered vain, that He feels grief when His holy love is rejected. He is the living God, upon whom the sight of fallen man, of the deeply corrupted world, does not fail to react. Hence it is not with cold indifference that He resolves upon the destruction of the world, ver. 7: *And Jahveh said, I will destroy man, whom I have made, from the face of the earth, from man to cattle, to creeping things, and to birds of the heaven; for it repenteth me that I have made them.* The verb מָחָה, to wipe out, to blot out, recurs in the history of the Flood at vii. 4, 23. The enumeration of living beings beginning with מֵאָדָם is literally the same as at vii. 23, and has more an Elohistic than a Jahvistic tinge. The unreasoning creatures are exposed to the same ruin as man, for they were created for his sake and are combined with him in solidarity. But the human race is not exterminated without its continuance being at the same time kept in view. For one among mankind was the object of divine favour, ver. 8: *And Noah found grace in the eyes of Jahveh, i.e.* Noah was regarded by God as worthy that He should incline towards him (חֵן ✓ חנן, *inclinare*) in pitying love. The tone of מָצָא before חֵן falls back on the *penult.*, which does not take place with Merca before Pashta, Jer. xxxi. 2. The historical narrative of Genesis has now again arrived at the place where it interrupted the Toledoth of Adam, v. 32. The overlapping verse, v. 32, was *Q's*, this transitional one, ver. 8, is *J's*, who here names Noah for the first time, here viz. where we have extracts from his book which are used as the stones of a mosaic. This ver. 8 introduces the history of Noah, which forms an independent section, and the third main portion of Genesis.

III.

THE TOLEDOTH OF NOAH, VI. 9–IX. 29.

The title promises the "generations" of Noah, *i.e.* a statement of the posterity of which he is the ancestor, or more generally: a statement of the history of which he is the starting-point and centre. This history, so far as it forms an essential element of sacred history—in other words, of the ways of God with mankind—is the history of the מֵי נֹחַ, Isa. liv. 9, the history of the Flood, of that great and long-lasting Flood [1] which took place during the life of Noah. The narrator tarries with special interest at this event, and describes it fully with mosaic-like insertion of whatever his sources of information offered. For the Deluge was an act, both of judgment and salvation, of the very greatest importance on the part of God. It was a total judgment which made a division as deep and wide, and of as violent and universal a nature in the history of mankind, as the final judgment at the end of this world will alone produce. This act of judgment however is at the same time an act of salvation, this sunset the means of a new rising again, a new beginning.—From the New Testament standpoint the Flood appears as the type of holy baptism, 1 Pet. iii. 21, and of

[1] In old high German, besides *sintfluot*, we have more commonly the original form *sinfluot*, compounded with *sin*, not occurring alone, and meaning always, everywhere complete; hence *sinfluot* is equivalent to *ummaz fluot* (*immensum diluvium*), by which old high German glosses of the monastery of Reichenau of the eighth century designate the Noachian Deluge. Cædmon has *flôd*, *sæflôd*, sea-flood, *heahflód*, high-flood, or *villflód*, spring-flood, for it. The designation *Sündflut* is just such a popular etymological change of meaning as *Sinngrün* for *singruna*, *i.e.* evergreen *pervinca*. Luther still writes *Sindflut*. But on how early *Sündflut* had already made its appearance in place of *Sindflut*, see Weigand's *Deutsches WB.*, comp. Vilmar in the *Pastoral-Theologischen Blättern*, 1861, p. 109 sq., and Glosses to Luther's translation of the Bible in the *Theol. LB.* of the *Allg. KZ.* 1862, p. 699 sq.

life arising from death, on which account the ancient Church was wont to decorate mortuary chapels with pictures of the Deluge. Extermination took place for the purpose of preservation, drowning for the purpose of purification, the death of the human race for the purpose of its new birth. The old corrupt earth was buried in the waters of the Flood, that from this grave a new world might emerge; it was very nearly thrown back to the stage of chaos, that it might come forth from it as it were transformed. To this must be added, that the mountains of Ararat point to Sinai, the covenant of Elohim, which God there made with the holy seed that had been preserved and with the whole natural world, to the covenant of Jahveh. The few and brief מִצְוֹת בְּנֵי נֹחַ (commandments for the sons of Noah) are the commencement of a positive Thorah, are in tenor and purpose the foundation and preparation for the Sinaitic law, and at the same time a prophetic finger-post to point out that as a law binding on the whole human race preceded the law which entered into national limitations, so will the latter be at last generalized to a law for all mankind.

There is a tendency of modern science which, as recently carried out with systematic consistency by Goldziher, Grill and Jul. Pepper, restamps the primitive histories of Scripture as having originated from naturalistic myths. This line has been struck out with regard to the Flood by Phil. Buttmann. The names of Sisuthros and Sesostris—he asserts—are nothing more than reduplicative forms of the name Sothis, and therefore symbolical of Sirius (the dog-star), and also of rains and floods in general. Noah moreover, who was the inventor of wine, is also a symbol of water, just as Ogyges has a similarity of sound with Okeanos,—Noah was originally the deity of the water, who sent the great Flood, it was a later form of the legend which made him its central point as a human being. Schirren (*Wanderungen der Neuseeländer*, 1856), Gerland (in Waitz' *Anthropologie*, vol. vi.) and Cheyne (art. "Deluge," in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*) have advanced still further on

this path. The oldest cosmogonies originated, according to Schirren, from mythical descriptions of the rising of the sun, and the narrative of the Deluge was originally a mythic picture of his setting. Gerland, on the other hand, and Cheyne, regard an ether-myth as its foundation. The sun and moon are represented as mountain-tops emerging from the waters, sometimes as boats which navigate them, sometimes as man and wife, the only beings (with perhaps the exception of the stars, their children) who did not perish in the Flood. Cheyne finds this confirmed by the names of the Babylonian Noah and his father, but by reason of an uncertain reading and an erroneous interpretation. This reduction of the primitive narratives to allegories of natural phenomena is like the reduction of the history of redemption to moral commonplaces. It is true that to heathenism, which deified the forces of nature, natural observations were transformed into mythic pictures; but human history too, like the natural world, surely left its reflection in the consciousness, and we may hence assume, that as there are nature-myths in which natural phenomena were incorporated, so also were historic memories transmitted in the form of legends, which, though mythologically coloured, have still the fate of actual men as their subject. Such a legend is that of the Deluge, which is in the scriptural account brought down, by the removal of all mythological embellishment, to historical prose. The Babylonio-Assyrian account is far more fanciful, and hence more poetical, but like that of the Bible so specifically human, that it would be quite as arbitrary to make the waters of Noah a picture of the ocean of heaven, as to generalize the victorious Eastern expedition of Alexander into a picture of the victory of the sun over mist and darkness.

The Chaldee account of the Flood has been preserved in Armenian in Eusebius' *Chronicon*, according to extracts from Berosos by Alexander Polyhistor, in Greek in Syncellus; we give it here in a free, and in some places abbreviated translation, placing together in important passages the Armenio-Latin and the Greek texts. Ardates, the ninth ruler before

the Deluge, was succeeded by his son Xisuthros, who reigned for eighteen sares. To him it was announced in sleep by Kronos, that the destruction of mankind by a flood would take place on the 15th of the month Daesios, and he was commanded to commit to writing and deposit in Sispara (*Sipara*), the city of the sun, the beginning, middle and end of all things. He was further bidden to build a vessel (*σκάφος*), to enter it with his belongings and nearest friends, to store it with food and drink, to take in with him all kinds of birds and four-footed beasts, and when all was ready to set out. If asked whither he was going, he was to say: To the gods, to beg them to show favour to men. He therefore built a ship, according to the Divine command, of 15 stadia long and 2 wide, and, having collected all that was directed, entered it with his wife, children and nearest friends. When the Flood came and immediately ceased (*confestim cessante*, Gr. *εὐθέως λήξαντος*), Xisuthros sent forth some birds; but they finding neither food nor resting-place, came back to the vessel (*πλοῖον*). After some days he again sent forth the birds, and they again returned to the ship (*ναῦν*) with mud on their feet. When however they were sent forth for the third time they stayed away. Then Xisuthros perceived that the land had again appeared, and took off a portion of the roofing (*τῶν τοῦ πλοίου ῥαφῶν μέρος τι*), and when he saw that the vessel was stranded on a mountain, he came out with his wife, daughters and pilot, prayed upon the earth (Gr. *τὴν γῆν*), erected an altar, sacrificed to the gods and immediately disappeared, together with those who were with him. Those who remained in the ship waited in expectation, and when Xisuthros and those who went with him did not return, they came forth and sought him, calling him by name. He however continued invisible, and a voice resounding downwards from the air exhorted them to the duty of godliness, and declared that because of his piety he had gone to dwell with the gods, and that the same honour had been bestowed upon his wife, his daughters and the pilot. It also told them to return to

Babylon (*ut rursum Babilonem proficiscerentur*), and that there they were, according to the decree of the gods, to bring the writings back from Sispara (*Sipara*), and to deliver them to men, and that the place in which they now found themselves on coming out of the ship was the land of Armenia. When they learned this, they sacrificed to the gods and went on foot to Babylon. A portion of the vessel stranded in Armenia is still found upon the Corduenian mountains of Armenia, many fetch thence asphalt (*bitumen*), which they have scraped off the ship, and use it to ward off diseases. When they arrived at Babylon they dug out the writings of Sispara (*Sipara*), founded many cities, erected sanctuaries and rebuilt Babylon (*πάλιν ἐπικτίσαι τὴν Βαβυλῶνα*). Eusebius also gives us the Chaldee legend of the Flood according to Abydenus; the parallels of this portion of the Armenian *Chronicon* are found in his *Præp. ev.* ix. 12; comp. Syncellus, lxx. 2–15. Here too Sisythros (the Greek form of the name is here used) sails to Armenia, and has speedily to experience what he has heard from God (*καὶ παραυτίκα μιν κατελάμβανε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ*). The sending forth of the birds takes place on the third day, when the rain has ceased, and for the second time after three days more. Nicolaus Damascenus, in Joseph. and Euseb., designates a high mountain in Armenia above (the province of) Minyas, which is called Baris, as the resting-place of the ark.

The cuneiform account of the Deluge, which has been published most accurately by Paul Haupt (in the *Monographie*, 1881, and in Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das A. T.* 1883), coincides with the statement in Berosus in the important point, that Noah, who is there called *Pir napištim* (sprout of life), son of the *Ubara-Tutu* (meaning servant of Merodach),[1] having proved himself obedient to the deity in the time of the Deluge, was rewarded with removal to the

[1] Hâsisadra, which occurs in the inscriptions, is not as yet warranted as the surname of the hero of the Flood, but is according to all appearance the equivalent of Ξίσουθρος (Σίσουθρος).

gods (on which account he has the surname *rûḳu:* of the distance). Izdubar (Nimrod) there seeks him "in the distance at the mouth of the river," to ask him how he, who has been smitten with sickness by the goddess Istar, may find healing. For the cuneiform account of the Flood discovered 1872 by George Smith among the brick tablets of the British Museum, and the knowledge of which was transmitted to the world in the *Daily News* of December 5, 1872, is the contents of the 11th tablet of the Izdubar-epic, an episode of the history of this Babylonian national hero. Hâsisadra answers his question by relating what he has himself experienced, by the history of his deliverance from the great Flood and of his translation. The Flood here appears as the work of the gods Anu, Bêl, Adar and Ênnugi; the god Êa only co-operates in the transaction, while according to another fragment (interpolated as Col. ii. 36–52), Êa appears to be the originator (see Haupt in Schrader, p. 57). We abbreviate the mythologic accessories, though it is just through these that the narrative acquires its highly poetic colouring, and reproduce merely the succession of events, beginning with the address: "Surripakite, son of Ubara-Tutu, forsake the house, build a vessel (*élippa*), collect what living creatures you can get."[1] The measure of the length, breadth and height of the vessel are unfortunately no longer legible. Hâsisadra fears to become by the execution of this building the derision of the people and the elders, it is however put into his mouth what to say. He hides his silver and gold in the ship, and brings into it all his family, together with his servants and relatives, also the cattle of the field (*bûl ṣêri*), the wild beasts of the field (*umâm ṣêri*), and all that lives. When then the sun had brought on the predetermined time, the call resounded: *ina lîlâti ušuznânû šamûtu kébâti*, at evening will the heavens rain woes (see *Paradise*, p. 156). In alarmed expectation of the evening, Hâsisadra went into

[1] So must Col. i. 21, as Haupt subsequently acknowledged he read and understood.

the ship and closed the door. Buzurkurgal, the pilot, was entrusted by him with the direction of the great vessel. Then followed a dark and stormy night, a fearful strife of the subject powers of nature, incessant floods of rain come from above, and at the same time, while the earth quakes, floods of subterranean waters come from beneath, and the billowy mass rises as high as the heavens. Among men each has regard only to his own preservation. The very gods (the subordinate ones) are afraid, and cower together at the lattice of heaven (*ina kamâti*), they lament with Istar the destruction of mankind. Flood (*abûbu*) and storm (*mêḫû*) raged for six days and seven nights in a continual tempest (*šâru* = שַׁעַר). At the dawn of the seventh day however the storm abated, the flood was assuaged, the waters fell. Hâsisadra sadly navigated the sea (*tâmata*), with the dwelling-places of men filled with mud, and their corpses driven hither and thither. At last a tract of land twelve measures (*tân*) high rose high above the fearful watery mass. The vessel was steering towards the land of *Nisir* (נצר), the mountain there held it fast, and did not again let it go. On the seventh day after being stranded he let the dove (*summatu*) fly out, which because it found no resting-place returned; the swallow (*sinûntu*) also came back, but the raven (*âribu*) though still wading in the water stayed away. Then he gradually sent forth everything towards the four winds, erected an altar upon the summit of the mountain and offered a sacrifice, the sweet savour of which the gods imbibed with avidity. Only Bêl was enraged because his resolution to destroy men one and all remained unaccomplished. He was however appeased by the other gods, who represented to him that it was unjust to let the innocent suffer with the guilty, and that there were yet other means of punishment, such as wild beasts, famine and pestilence. Then he took counsel with himself, went up into the vessel, blessed Hâsisadra and his wife, and declared that both should be forthwith together raised to the gods. Then

they took me—says Hâsisadra to Izdubar—and placed me at the mouth of the stream a long way off (*ina pî nârâti*).

The clay tablets containing the epic of Izdubar are from the great library of Asurbanipal, 668–626 (see Mürdter, *Gesch. Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 228), and hence of the epoch when the Assyrian universal empire was approaching its close; the poem is self-evidently older by far than this its record, and the legend of the Flood, which is woven into it, older by far than the poet who met with it. Much in the description of the judgment of the Flood may be his own addition, but the narrative of Berosus is a pledge that he reproduces the tradition in all essential particulars. At the same time it must be inferred from the fact that this episode of the Deluge shows no acquaintance with the hiding and recovery of the sacred books, that tradition gives to this ancient event a testimony of many voices, though these do not always agree in all particulars. And this is confirmed by the Scripture narrative, in which we have, in spite of all discrepancies, the legend of the Flood in its original form. And the Israelitish nation being conscious of having come in the persons of its ancestors from beyond the Euphrates, the district of the Euphrates and Tigris will have to be regarded as the home of the legend of the Flood, and also indeed as the scene of the event itself. Wherever we meet among ancient nations with a legend of the Deluge homogeneous in its chief features, it will have to be admitted that it has arisen, if not directly, yet through some kind of medium either more ancient or more recent, from the source of legends found in Mesopotamia.

It must be assumed that the legend of the Deluge, in its wanderings from nation to nation, would experience national transformations in accordance with the religions and dwelling-places of these nations, and this circumstance must not be abused, as by Diestel in his Lecture on the Deluge and the ancient legend of the Deluge, 1871, to cut through undeniable connections.

The characteristic feature of the Indian legend is the incarnation (*avatâra*) of Brahma or Vishnu as a fish (*matsja*); Manu fastens the cable of the ship in which he finds himself together with seven Rishis (sacred minstrels) to the horn of the fish; the Himavât where the ship lands has since been called "the Descent of Manu" or "the ship's mooring" (*naubandhanam*). After his deliverance he sacrifices, and in virtue of the blessing produced by his offering a new race of men arises. Such are the main features of the Indian legend. It is not as yet found in the Rigveda, and there are only uncertain traces of it in the Atharvan. It appears however only the more developed in *Çatapatha Brâhmana* (Weber, *Indische Studien*, 1850, 2), then in *Mahâbhârata* (Bopp, *Diluvium*, 1829; comp. Ad. Holtzmann in *DMZ.* xxxviii. 181 sq.), and in the Puranâs, especially the *Matsja-Purâna*, which is specially devoted to this Vishnu-Avatâra (v. Bohlen, *Altes Indien*, i. 214 sqq.); its most recent form is exhibited in *Bhâgavata-Purâna* (ed. Burnouf), a very modern performance (Felix Nève, *La Tradition Indienne du Déluge*, 1851). This Deluge is identical in the main matter and also in several details with the event of the Babylonian and scriptural accounts; like Noah, Manu becomes the medium of a new and purified world, being preserved through the Flood in a vessel which is stranded on a mountain.

The Greek legend of the Ogygian Deluge makes Attica its scene of action. This is not in itself opposed to its connection with the legend originating in the district of the Euphrates and Tigris; it tells us however that the destruction of mankind by this Deluge was not universal. It is Nonnus who in his Dionysiaka first gives Ogygos (Ogyges) a vessel:—

> Ὤγυγος ἁλιβάτοιο δι' ὕδατος αἰθέρα τέμνων,
> Χθὼν ὅτε κεύθετο πᾶσα κατάῤῥυτος.

Few facts of this kind can however be (as Phil. Buttmann expresses it) as certain, as that the Deucalion Deluge is connected with the legend of the Flood. The legend is only sketched in Pindar's 9th Olympic ode: The surface of the earth was flooded by the billowy mass until the interposition

of Zeus caused it to appear, Deucalion and Pyrrha then descended from Parnassus to found the first city and to beget a new race (the stone race after the bronze race). Then, as farther described in Apollodor. *Bibl.* i. 7, Deucalion saved himself and his wife in a chest, journeyed nine days and nine nights upon the waters of the flood, and landed on Parnassus, *hic ubi Deucalion*, as Ovid (*Metam.* i. 317 sq.) says, *nam cætera texerat æquor, Cum consorte tori parva rate tectus adhæsit.* In Syria the legend was, as Lucian (*de Dea Syra*, c. 12) relates, connected with a temple in Hierapolis, which was said to have been erected by Deucalion the Scythian (*Δευκαλίωνα τὸν Σκυθέα*), because the Flood had abated there in Syria, and the waters had subsided into the chasm over which the temple was built. Phil. Buttmann corrects *Σκυθέα* for *Σισυθέα*. The surname seems really to have arisen from a misunderstanding of *Σίσιθρος*, *Σίσουθρος*, *Ξίσουθρος*. At all events Deucalion is the Hellenized Xisuthros-Noah, and the Deucalion Deluge the Noachian as adopted in the circle of Hellenic legends, in saying which the possibility of the self-experience of a devastating flood being blended with reminiscences of the premundane Flood[1] must be admitted. Many features may have been first added, after the scriptural account had become accessible through the LXX., and thence through the Sibyllines (i. 120 sqq.) to Hellenic circles. Thus *e.g.* the dove as Deucalion's reconnoitrer of the weather in Plutarch, *de sollertia animalium*, § 13. And the inscription *NΩ* on coins of the city of Apamea of the epoch of the Emperors Septimus Severus, Macrinus and Philip (known since Falconieri, 1688), with the representation of the floating ark, from which Apamea itself bears the name of *Κιβωτός* as its landing-place.[2] Such embellishments at least presuppose the existence of a national

[1] This indeed applies also to the Chinese description of the great flood under the Emperor Jao, which, though in the first place referable to a native flood, yet exhibits points of contact with the legend of the Deluge which Jones, Klaproth, Windschmann, Gützlaff think not accidental.

[2] According to Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 2. 3, the remains of the Noachian ark were shown also in Κάββαι (חַרָן).

Phrygian legend of the Flood as their foundation. It can hardly be decided whether King *Ἀννακός* (*Νάννακος*) of Iconium, who lived more than three hundred years, predicted the Flood and lamented and prayed for his people, belongs to its original form. He is evidently identical with Enoch; but comp. Böttcher, *de inferis*, 242, 251.

The circuit within which the legend of the Flood was disseminated in the ancient world is, when rightly regarded, of no great extent. Starting from the region of the Tigris and Euphrates, it spread westwards over Anterior Asia and thence to Greece, and eastwards to the Indians, after they had advanced from Hindukuh along the Indus as far as the sea, acquiring everywhere fresh national colouring and attaching itself to different localities. We have no longer the means of checking what Josephus, *Ant.* i. 3. 6, says, viz. that Hieronymus, the Egyptian, in his history of the Phœnicians, and Mnaseas also bear testimony to the Deluge. The victory of Pontus over Demarûs in the Phœnician mythology (in Sanchuniathon) is a cosmogonic myth. Such also, in the Bundehesh, one of the most recent sacred books of the Persians, is the thirty days' rain, which purifies the earth from the unclean demoniacal beings with which Ahriman had filled it, the water being, after the Flood had done this service, carried up by a heavenly wind to the clouds, and the salt ocean formed from the remainder by Ormuzd. As here in the case of the Persians, so too in the Scandinavian and German mythologies, do we find the legends of the Deluge and the Creation entangled with each other. The legend of the Flood in the Welsh Triads, which is connected with the outbreak of the lake of Llion, is however under the influence of the scriptural account, the Noah of the bards being called Neivion.

The fact that the legend of the Flood did not take root in Egypt is accounted for by the circumstance, that the inundation of the land is, in Egyptian notions, not a calamity, but a benefit. Nevertheless Brugsch's work, *Die neue Weltordnung nach Vernichtung des sündigen Menschengeschlechts*, 1881, has

made us acquainted with an ancient tradition, according to which Ra decreed the destruction of the sin-corrupted world, and Hathor, as the goddess of vengeance, carried the decree into execution; just as in the Babylonian legend Bel decrees the judgment and Êa brings it to pass. The means of punishment is however, not a flood, but a slaughter. Nevertheless the narrative, inscribed by *Bibân el Mulûk* on the wall of a chamber of the Seti-catacomb in the Theban valley of the dead, sounds like a transformation of the Izdubar episode into Egyptian.

It is surprising to find traditions of the Flood strikingly like the ancient ones in their details among many more modern nations, with whom we have but recently become acquainted. The Mexicans, the inhabitants of the island of Cuba, the Peruvians, the Tamanaki, and almost all the tribes of the Upper Orinoco (Humboldt, *Reise in den Aquinoctialgegenden des alten Continents,* pt. iii. p. 416 sqq.), the Tahitians, and other islanders of the Society Archipelago (Wegener, *Gesch.* i. 153–155), have a legend of a flood by which mankind was exterminated. According to a legend of the Macusi Indians in South America, the only man who survived the Flood repeopled the earth by changing stones into men. According to the legend of the Tamaniki on the Orinoco, it was a married pair, who threw behind them the fruit of the Miriti-fan-palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*), which lasts under water, and men and women sprang up from its kernels. That it is not the mere transformation of what has been heard from the bearers of advancing civilisation, especially missionaries, into these fantastic images, is witnessed by two trustworthy testimonies: 1. That of the missionary Batsch from Randshi, of June 24, 1875, for the legends of the Kolhs, who speak the Munda language. The Munda-kolhs relate that men became wicked after *singbonga* (the sun-god) had created them; that they would neither wash themselves nor work, but only dance and drink. Then came a flood from *sengel-daa* (*i.e.* fire-water) and drowned them all. Only a brother and a sister hid themselves in a *tiril*

(ebony) tree, and so were saved. From these two human beings, they say, came all men, who were afterwards divided into different castes, according to their different employments. 2. That of the missionary superintendent C. Hugo Hahn for the legend of the south-west African Hereró or Damara. He himself communicated to me this legend, with the assurance that it was original, for that no white man and no Christian had come in contact with the Hereró before himself. These people relate that an inconceivably long time ago the great ancients (*ovakuru ovanene*) up in heaven were angry with men, and therefore caused heaven to fall, *i.e.* a flood of rain to rush down upon them (for the heaven fell, *eyuru ra u*, is the same as it rained terribly), while moderate rain is expressed by *ombura mai roko* (a storm rained). Almost every man was killed. The few who were preserved killed a black sheep as an atoning sacrifice, whereupon the great ones of heaven returned to heaven, *i.e.* caused the flood of rain to cease. They are still there above, and are keeping firm the vault of heaven. Before the falling of heaven, men were able to enter it where earth and sky meet, but since then this has been impossible. At the boundary there now dwell giants with one eye and one ear, a jointless arm and leg, who pull down by the leg every one who attempts to get up into heaven.

To find in such echoes of the legend of the Flood in the most distant parts of the earth, a confirmation of the notion that the whole world was overflowed by the waters of the Deluge is out of question (see Zöckler's article on the relation of the ancient legends of a flood to the scriptural account in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theologie*, xv. 1870). Dillmann, on the other hand, justly remarks, that these various nations were at the time of the Deluge certainly not yet in possession of their subsequent abodes, and that they did not grow out of the earth, but immigrated from elsewhere. We may however regard this consentient narrative of a Flood sent as a judgment upon sinful mankind as a confirmation of the historical unity of the human race.

A universal Deluge, covering at the same time the whole earth to its highest mountain peaks, is physically and geologically inconceivable, — inconceivable an atmospheric deposit taking place simultaneously upon both hemispheres, inconceivable the creation of the mass of water needed for such a watery covering of the whole globe, inconceivable the continued existence of the world of water animals in the intermingling of salt and fresh water by the Flood. For the accomplishment of these inconceivabilities, recourse must be had to miracles of omnipotence, concerning which the narrative is entirely silent, and which would be not merely unprecedented in Scripture history, but also in direct opposition to the scriptural notion of a miracle. For the credible miracle invariably subserves some great object in the history of redemption; but what could have been the object of flooding those parts of the world which were as yet untrodden by the foot of man, and moreover of flooding even the summit of the Himalayas and Cordilleras, while shoreless water the height, or something above the height, of a man would certainly suffice to kill men and land animals? We shall see in the course of our exposition that it is not at all the meaning of the narrator, that the earth was thus plunged back into the condition of the תהום, i. 2, in which it had been enveloped as it were—but as yet without its subsequent relief of hills and valleys—by the primæval waters. The Deluge was no correction of the creation, but of the world created once for all, especially of the world of men, and of the animals associated with him for his service and pleasure. The object of the Flood was the establishment of a new and better race of men by means of the extermination of the incorrigible old race. It was sufficient for the effecting of a radical cure that the district in which the race had then spread should be placed under water. This district of the dissemination of men was also their geographical horizon, it was for them "the whole earth." The narrator is reproducing an ancient tradition, which must be understood in the spirit of those from whom it proceeded. The circumstances of the

Deluge have as yet been better represented by no one than by Edward Suess in a geological study of them which forms a portion of his great work, *Das Antlitz der Erde* (printed separately, 1883). By combining the scriptural and Babylonian accounts, he obtains the following results: 1. That the event began at the Lower Euphrates, and was combined with an extensive and devastating overflooding of the Mesopotamian lowlands. 2. That a considerable earthquake in the region of the Persian Gulf, or running laterally from it, and preceded by several slighter shocks, was the chief occasion. 3. That probably during the period of the most violent shocks from the Persian Gulf, a cyclone (a whirlwind) set in from the south. A flood caused merely by rain would have carried the ark from the Lower Euphrates into the sea; the earthquake and cyclone were the reason that it was driven from the sea landwards towards the falls of the river, until (*i.e.* according to the Babylonian account) it was stranded on those miocene (mid-tertiary) hills which form the northern and north-eastern boundary of the lowlands of the Tigris beyond the mouth of the lesser Zab.

That the history of the Flood in its present form is composed of two closely interwoven accounts, is evident to even a superficial observation, from the entrance of Noah with his family and the animals into the ark being related, vii. 7–9, and then a second time, vii. 13–16*a*. The tone of the language, in which the entrance is this second time related, is the same as that of the Elohistic account of the Creation: as is shown by אלהים, the classification, beasts, cattle, creeping things with למינה and למינהו, just like i. 25 sq.; כנף, winged fowl, like i. 21; זכר ונקבה, like i. 27. In the first passage it is not said רמשׂ עַל־הָאֲדָמָה, but רמשׂ עַל־הָאֲדָמָה; this is however of but slight importance. It is of incomparably greater, that we here have the distinction of clean and unclean animals, which is not found in the other passage. Moreover, the tone of speech is a mixed one, the redactor having interposed and approximated the first passage to the second. From his not having however

left out the Jahvistic passage, and introduced the distinction of clean and unclean animals peculiar to it into the Elohistic one, it is evident that he has proceeded with conservative scrupulosity, and has refrained from harmonistic interferences which would obscure the peculiarities of the two different narratives.

Indubitable portions of *Q's* narrative, by which all that has any other origin is supported and surrounded, are vi. 9–22, vii. 6, 11, 13–16*a*, 18–21, 24, viii. 1–5, with perhaps the exception of 2*b* (7 ?), 13*a*–19, ix. 1–17. Characteristic of the style of this author, besides what has been already noted from vii. 13–16*a*, are כָּל־בָּשָׂר and כל־הבשׂר, vi. 12 sq., 17, 19, vii. 15 sq., 21, viii. 17, ix. 11, 15–17; דֹּרֹתָיו, vi. 9, comp. ix. 12; מְאֹד מְאֹד, vii. 19, like xvii. 2, 6, 20; בְּעֶצֶם, *eo ipso* (die), vii. 13, like xvii. 23, 26; פָּרָה וְרָבָה, viii. 17, ix. 1, 7, like i. 28; הֵקִים בְּרִית, vi. 18, ix. 9, 11, 17, like xvii. 7, 21. But of equal weight with these favourite expressions, as characteristic of this writer, are the title אֵלֶּה תוֹלְדֹת, vi. 9, the preciseness everywhere shown in statements of numbers and measures, and especially the dating of the beginning and ending of the Deluge according to the years of Noah's life, the legislation for the sons of Noah, with the retrospect of man's being made in God's image, and of his diet having been originally only of a vegetable kind, the sympathetic prominence given to the token of the Noachian, as subsequently to that of the patriarchal covenant (ch. xvii.), the preference for stereotyped expressions, and the almost strophic arrangement and movement.

Indubitable portions of the narrative of *JE* are vii. 1–5, 7–9 (with interpositions of *R*), 10, 12, 16*b*, 17, 22 sq. (not perhaps without exception), viii. (2*b* ?) 6–12 (perhaps not 7), 13*b*, 20–22. Characteristic of this writer are besides the Divine name יהוה, the designation of the sexes by אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ, vii. 2, and of human subjectiveness by יֵצֶר, viii. 21, comp. vi. 5; the noun יְקוּם (that which exists or consists), and with it מחה, as the expression of extermination, vii. 4, 23, comp. vi. 7; the declaration of the respite with לְ, vii. 4, 10; and

as to matter: the accentuation of inherited sinfulness, viii. 21, comp. vi. 5; the distinction between clean and unclean animals, the prominence given to Noah's sacrificial altar (the first of a series, continued xii. 8). The boldness too of his anthropomorphic language concerning God is characteristic of this author.

The analysis is in the main established, but here and there raises questions, the answers to which will fluctuate according to individual opinion (compare the appendix on the examination of the state of analysis in my earlier editions of *Genesis*). The observation however that we have in the two accounts different statements, not only concerning the origin, but also the duration of the Flood, is unaffected by this fluctuation. In the Jahvistic account, which is composed of extracts, the catastrophe takes place in forty days and passes away in 7 + 7 + 7. On the other hand, in the unabbreviated Elohistic account, the time from the beginning to the end is incomparably longer. The Flood begins on the 17th day of the second month, and the earth is again dry on the 27th day of the second month, thus making the catastrophe last during its increase and abatement one year and eleven days. At how many days the year is reckoned cannot be certainly said, as there is within this account but one statement of the number of the days, viz. 150 days of continuous increase (vii. 24, viii. 3). This is not yet the place to enter into the computation of the year in the Elohistic account—suffice it to say that in one account the duration amounts to 61, or at most, if we reckon a four-times repeated respite of 7 days, to 68 days, in the other to above a year, hence at all events to more than a lunar year of 354 days. Still shorter is the duration of the catastrophe in the Babylonian account. This brevity is already announced in the *γενομένου τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ εὐθέως λήξαντος* of Berosus. It is corroborated by the cuneiform episode of the Izdubar epic, where seven days are reckoned for the increase of the Flood, and seven more for the resting of the vessel upon the mountain Nisir.

There were therefore three different traditions concerning the duration of the Flood: *Q* follows a different tradition from *JE*, unless we insist on branding *Q* here as well as within the Mosaic legislature as an inventor of history. No tendency, which would have disposed him to remodel the traditional account, is here discernible. Besides, his narrative has the advantage over the other, which makes the Flood simply a deluge of rain, that he makes it take place, not merely through descents from above, but also through the rising of the waters of the deep in consequence of commotions of the earth. To this must be added, that the points of contact with the Babylonian account, which itself is not harmonious in all its details, are divided between *Q* and *JE*. Hence both accounts have the primitive legend of the Flood for their root. And Ur Casdim, or at all events Harrân, having been the dwelling-place of Israel's ancestors, we need not assume that the Israelites owe their knowledge of the Flood to the Babylonians, but may refer the legend, both in its Israelite and its Babylonian form, to a common root. The view that "both the scriptural accounts of the Deluge were first composed during the captivity, with knowledge of the Babylonian legend" (Paul Haupt, *Sintflutbericht*, 1881, p. 20), in its defective acquaintance with Pentateuch criticism persuades itself of the impossible. That the Jahvistic book is pre-exilian and pre-Deuteronomic is immoveably established. And even supposing that *Q* were not pre-exilian, and did not antedate the prophet Ezekiel, it must still be granted that he does not catch his pictures of ancient times from the air, but derives them from ancient sources.

Köhler in his *Biblische Geschichte*, i. 59, thinks that the Jahvistic fragments give no sufficient support for ascribing to this narrator a duration of the Flood of only sixty-one or a few more days. But if we compare the still shorter duration in the Babylonian narrative, this is certainly his meaning. The historian, whose work Genesis in its present form is, did not share this opinion, but made the selections of *JE* a component

part of *Q's* narrative, so that the forty days' rain appears as only a co-operating cause of the height, which the Flood attained in the first 140 days of the year in which it took place.

Table of the History of the Flood.

The various Succession of Months.

The Sacred Year.		The Civil Year enumeration of Months.	The Macedonian Months as Lunar Months.[2]	Compared with the Solar Year.[3]	
The Mosaic legal Succession of Months.	Later Names of Months.			The Syro-Macedonian Months.	The Roman Months.
1st Month	Kodesh ha-abîb or Nîsan 7		Xanthikos 6	Nisan 7	April 4
2nd Month	Ziv (Ijjar)[1] 8		Artemisios 7	Ijjar 8	May 5
3rd Month	Sivan 9		Daesios 8	Hasivan 9	June 6
4th Month	(Tammuz) 10		Panemos 9	Tammuz 10	July 7
5th Month	(Ab) 11		Lôos 10	Ab 11	August 8
6th Month	Elul 12		Gorpiaeos 11	Elul 12	September 9
7th Month	Jerach ha-êthanîm (Tishri) 1		Hyper-beretæos 12	Tishri I. 1	October 10
8th Month	Bul (Marcheshvan) 2		Dios 1	Tishri II. 2	November 11
9th Month	Kislev 3		Apellaeos 2	Kanun I. 3	December 12
10th Month	Tebeth 4		Audynaeos 3	Kanun II. 4	January 1
11th Month	Schebât 5		Peritios 4	Shebât 5	February 2
12th Month	Adar 6		Dystros 5	Adar 6	March 3

NOAH AND HIS AGE, CH. VI. 9—12.

The tenth generation of the genealogical table of ch. v. is resumed with the title, 9*a*: *These are the Toledoth of Noah*, and the genealogical conclusion, ix. 28 sq., corresponds with the genealogical title according to its most obvious sense. Noah is on the one hand the last member of the ante-diluvian Sethitic race, and on the other the first of a new three-stemmed

[1] The bracketed names do not occur in the Bible.

[2] The same names for the months are retained in the transition to the Solar year.

[3] The succession of months in the solar year of course corresponds but approximately to the position of the lunar months.

race of mankind, the Adam, so to speak, of post-diluvian humanity, on which account the hero of the Flood and the first man are frequently confounded. It was, according to vi. 8, Jahv., a proof of God's favour that Noah survived the Flood; here the correlative side, his godly life, is brought forward, 9*b*: *Noah was a righteous man, a perfect man among his contemporaries. Noah walked with God.* The name נֹחַ is repeated three times in ver. 9, as ישׂראל is five times, Num. viii. 19; the Elohistic style delights in such repetitions: it is plain, circumstantial, monumental. Following the accentuation, we should not translate: Noah, a righteous man, was perfect . . . for then the accentuation would be נֹחַ אִישׁ צַדִּיק תָּמִים הָיָה בְּדֹרֹתָיו; but צַדִּיק has *Tebir*, which is a lesser separative than the *Tifcha* following, hence צדיק תמים must be taken together, like Job xii. 4 (comp. xv. 12*b*, and Heidenheim in his Pentateuch, הבנת המקרא, on Num. xix. 2): a righteous or properly upright man, conforming strictly to the will of God, perfect, *i.e.* wholly and entirely devoted to God (comp. תָּם, to be whole; תָּם, to be entirely devoted; whence תָּמִים, one devoted = servant). He was not merely relatively upright in comparison with his contemporaries (Jerome from Jewish sources), but entirely so in contrast to them. The plur. דֹּרֹת, preferred in the priestly Thorah style (comp. on the contrary דּוֹר, vii. 1, Jahv.), means properly circles (דור = כּוּר), periods, intervals of time, here the generation contemporary with Noah, the Nestor of his age. It is further said of Noah, that he walked with God—he was not merely a servant, but a friend of God, like Enoch, v. 22, 24—a rare pattern of piety (Ezek. xiv. 14, 20; comp. Heb. xi. 7). What was already said, v. 32, but there only anticipatively, is now repeated, ver. 10: *And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Jepheth.* Surrounded by these three sons, he is the hero of the following history. The reason for the judgment of the Flood is also restated. The picture of Noah, according to *Q*, is followed by the picture of his age, according

to the same authority, ver. 11: *And the earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was full of violence.* The earth is here used of its inhabitants, men, at least chiefly of them. The *imperf. consec.* וַתִּשָּׁחֵת is not reflective, *corruperat se* (for this the author expresses by השחית את־דרכו, 12*b*), but *corrupta est.* It was corrupt לִפְנֵי האלהים, *i.e.* so as to become an abomination to God, and to call forth His judicial interposition (comp. 1 Chron. xiii. 10). חָמָס (acc. according to Ges. § 138. 3) is *ἀδικία*, injustice and injury to the weaker, action which substitutes might for right and cares for no higher rule. The judicial result, ver. 12: *And Elohim saw the earth, and, behold, it had become corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted his way upon earth.* Perhaps in והנה נִשְׁחָתָה the narrator may have in his mind the והנה־טוב מאד of i. 31, the contrast between the earth as it was at the beginning and as it had now become. Notice that נשחתה is 3rd *praet.*, and that the reflective sense of the *Niphal* is excluded by the confirmation which follows. כָּל־בָּשָׂר is the human race and the animal world. The natural way of life, according to the limits and rules imposed at creation, is here called דֶּרֶךְ. A mediæval rhymed poem on the Deluge says:—

Omnis caro peccaverat
Viam (Vitam) suam corruperat,
Homo Deum reliquerat,
Lex naturæ perierat.

JUDGMENT DECREED, AND THE ARK ORDERED AS A MEANS OF PRESERVATION, VI. 13–22.

Announcement of judgment, ver. 13: *Then Elohim said to Noah: The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is become full of violence from them, and, behold, I destroy them* (eos) *with the earth.* בא לְפָנַי here, and also Esth. ix. 11, means, like בא אֶל, xviii. 21, Ex. iii. 9, to come to the knowledge of some one; here it is the judgment, which presents itself before God as unalterably incurred for the purpose of being carried into execution by His resolve. קֵץ is not the

extremity of self-corruption (comp. עָוֹן קֵץ, Ezek. xxi. 30), but the judgment which is to put an end to corruption. מִפְּנֵיהֶם means from them, these beings living in the flesh, as the effective cause (Ex. viii. 20). The suffix of הִנְנִי מַשְׁחִיתָם, *en me perditurum eos*, refers to these beings, and the אֵת which follows is a prep. There is no need of either the alteration מֵעַל (Olsh. Stade), nor of the much more violent כִּי מַשְׁחִיתִים הֵם (Budde), the text as it stands is more intelligible: the penal destruction falls not only upon the beings who have corrupted their way, but also upon the earth as the desecrated scene of the moral corruption. The order for the building of the ark as the place of refuge, ver. 14: *Make thee an ark of gopher-wood, thou shalt make the ark consisting of cells and pitch it within and without with pitch.* The noun תֵּבָה (perhaps from תוב, a secondary formation from אוב, to be convex without and hollow within, comp. תאם and אמם, תאב and אבה, תוה and אוה) is a hollow concave receptacle in various forms, so named also in ancient Egyptian and Koptic (compare *θίβις*, *θίβη*, *θήβη*, Ex. ii. 3, 5, LXX.), Targums תֵּיבוּתָא, in the Koran *tâbût*; LXX. (in the history of the Flood) and Syr. *κιβωτός* (Heb. xi. 7), which according to Fleischer arose from תיבות by the exchange of the initial explosive[1] (but comp. Aug. Müller in Bezzenberger's *Beiträgen*, i. 289); Samar. ספינה, Vulg. *arca* (*archa*). The book of Wisdom xiv. 6 has for it *σχεδία*, Berosus and Nicolaus Damasc. in Josephus *πλοῖον* and *λάρναξ* (Lucian, *de Dea Syra*, c. 12, also the latter), the Sibyllines *δουράτεον δῶμα* or *οἶκος* (with *κιβωτός*), the Armenian legend *βâρις* (ferry vessel, Kopt. *bari*), the Babylonio-Assyrian *êlippu*, ship (Aram. אֶלְפָּא). This chest (*Kasten*), as Luther translates, or ark, which after the Vulgate is already used in Gothic, old high German, and Anglo-Saxon for Noah's vessel, is to be made by Noah of עֲצֵי־גֹפֶר; עֵצִים is in ancient Hebrew the plural of the product, and signifies, in

[1] "Explosive," the German scientific term for the letters produced by the loosing of the closed mouth accompanied by a slight explosion, such as *t*, *v*, and the like

distinction from עֵץ, wood, in its use. גֹּפֶר (related to גָּפְרִית, sulphur, as according to Lagarde the Persian *gôgird*, sulphur, arose from the old Bactrian *vohûkereti*) denotes a resinous fir-tree (*Conifera*), and is perhaps the stem-wood of *κυπάρισσος*, *cupressus;* the cypress (afterwards בְּרוֹשׁ, בְּרוֹת) was from the lightness of its wood and its resistance to corruption used by the Phœnicians (as also by Alexander the Great, Arrian, vii. 19) for ship-building, and by the Egyptians for mummy-coffins (ancient Egyptian, *teb*, chest, sarcophagus). He was further to make the ark קִנִּים (originally, according to Olsh. Lagarde, Budde, probably קנים קנים; Philo Armen. *loculos loculos*), *i.e.* (Ges. § 139. 2) so as to consist of separate nests = rooms, cells, and to be divided into such. And he is to pitch it, בַּכֹּפֶר (see on the art. as comprising the species, Ges. § 109, note 1*b*), *i.e.* pitch, and that not properly vegetable pitch, which is called זֶפֶת זְפְתָּא, but mineral pitch or asphalt, Arab. كَفْر (also قَفْر), Aram. כְּוּפְרָא (Lagarde, *Onomastica*, ii. 95), Assyr. *kupru* or *iddû*, elsewhere חֵמָר, xiv. 10. Dillmann regards the verb כפר as derived from the noun כֹּפֶר (comp. Mishna זָ־ת from זֶפֶת); but as the verb כפר means to cover, כֹּפֶר seems on the contrary to have come from כפר, in the meaning covering, means of covering (comp. *Deckfarben*, covering-colour). Appointed measurements, ver. 15: *And this is how thou shalt make it: three hundred cubits the length of the ark, fifty cubits its breadth, and thirty cubits its height.* The style is the same as at the preparation of the sacred vessels, Ex. xxv. 10 and onwards. The cubits are ordinary cubits, *i.e.* (according to Mishnic tradition), six handbreadths long; אַמָּה, Assyr. *ammatu*, Ægypt. *mahe*, is the length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, Deut. iii. 11, properly the fore-arm, from אמם, أَمّ; but this is denied by Fried. Delitzsch, who awards to the stem-word the meaning, to be broad, spacious. That the cubit is here reckoned at six handbreadths (not at seven, as in Ezekiel's closing visions) is shown by Lepsius' investigations concerning the Babylonio-Assyrian measures of length (1877),

according to which the ancient Sumerian cubit was divided into 60 parts, the Babylonio-Semitic into 6 hands = 6 × 5 fingers = 52½ centimetres — the sexagesimal system everywhere prevailing. Philo remarks that the measurements of the ark were the magnified measurements of a man lying down, who is ten times longer than he is high, and six times longer than he is broad. It was an enormous colossus, *κιβωτὸς ἀλλόκοτος*, as Celsus (Origen, *c. Celsus*, iv. 41) contemptuously calls it, five times longer and more than twice broader than the temple of Solomon, with a surface of 15,000 square cubits, and cubic contents of 450,000 cubits. Peter Jansen, a Dutchman, built in 1604 a ship of like proportions on a reduced scale, which was found to be little adapted for progress, but of extraordinary carrying power. The ark is not indeed called אֳנִיָּה or סְפִינָה, nor *élippu*, as in the no less ancient Babylonian account, which accordingly gives it a pilot; it was a travelling house closed at the top, its floor a well-compacted raft; it was not to be rowed, steered or sailed, but only to float without being overturned. The measurements are illegible in the cuneiform narrative; according to Alexander Polyhistor's reproduction of the legend, the vessel of Xisuthros was fifteen bowshots long and two broad, which is fictitious. The opening for light and internal arrangement, ver. 16: *A window shalt thou make in the ark, and to the amount of a cubit shalt thou entirely form it from above; and a door of the ark shalt thou place in its side; of a lower storey, a second storey, and a third storey thou shalt make it consisting.* צֹהַר (here used as fem. like נְגֹהָה) does not mean the roof (Schult. Ewald and others after the Arab. ظَهْر, back), which is called מִכְסֶה, viii. 13, the word means the lighting, here an open space for the admission of light; a window that can be closed is called חַלּוֹן, viii. 6, Jahv. Wellhausen, with the concurrence of Budde and Riehm, relegates the difficult sentence, וְאֶל־אַמָּה תְכַלֶּנָּה, to the end of the verse, so as to make it refer to the ark as a whole. But how did it get thence into the middle

of the verse? The sense is not that the opening for light was to be so contrived, that the space of a cubit should be left from the roof (Knöbel, Keil), for it may be presumed that אֶל־אַמָּה is a measurement referring to the opening for light. Nor can a single such opening of a cubit square be here intended (Jerome, Luth. Tuch), for the animals could not be housed continually in the dark while only Noah's chamber had light. We must, with Dillm., conceive of the window as extending along every side of the ark downwards, *i.e.* under the roof, and this the expression תְּכַלֶּנָּה, "thou shalt make it throughout, shalt make it entirely," seems chosen to indicate. Nor does אל־אמה mean as far as to a cubit, but as Ges. in his *Thesaurus* explains by comparison with Josh. xvii. 4: *ad ulnam*, according to the proportion, *i.e.* at the rate of a cubit; hence: an opening for light running round and only interrupted by the rafters of the roof, of the height of a cubit. At its side, *i.e.* one of its long side walls, the ark is to have a door, and to contain within three storeys lying over each other; we need not complete the three plurals with קנים, they are neutrally used (LXX. *κατάγαια, διώροφα καὶ τριώροφα*). What is next to be expected on the part of God, ver. 17: *And I, behold, I bring the water flood upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, in which is the breath of life, from under heaven; everything which is on the earth shall die.* That the abbreviated אֲנִי preponderates in the style of *Q* above the original אָנֹכִי, is a fact ascertained by Driver,[1] and secured by a statement of the true proportion against exaggeration. In the combination אֲנִי הִנֵּה, however, the language has always (with the exception of the peculiarly formed sentence, Jer. vii. 11) preferred אֲנִי. The accentuation connects הַמַּבּוּל מַיִם in one notion, so that either this is apposition instead of annexation: flood, waters, *i.e.* the flood consisting of water, or מבול מים belong to each other in a genitive relation, and the article applies to the joint notion. It is however

[1] See his article, "Linguistic Affinities of the Elohist" (vol. xi. of the *Journal of Philology*), p. 224.

suggested, especially with regard to vii. 6, to accentuate differently and to take מים על־הארץ as added in explanation of the ancient מבול (Dillm. Budde and others). The conjecture that it should be מַיָם instead of מַיִם (J. D. Mich., and recently Suess) is ingenious; the mention of the sea would be welcome; still, to derive the flood from a landward overflow of the sea would be to take but a partial view, while if the sea were regarded as a co-operating cause, this would not have been expressed by a single word. If however we combine מים המבול (like הכתנת שֵׁשׁ, "the Byssus-coat," Ex. xxviii. 39, xxxix. 27, and indeed also הארון ברית ה', "the Jahveh—Ark of—the covenant," Josh. iii. 17; Ew. § 290*d*), or מים על־הארץ, then the derivation of מַבּוּל, which consequently requires some nearer definition or gloss, from נבל in the Assyrian meaning to destroy, whence *nablu*, destruction, *nabultu*, corpse (Friedr. Delitzsch, *Hebrew Language*, 67, § 143), of the same formation as מַבּוּעַ from נבע, מַדּוּחַ from נדח, commends itself; especially since, even supposing the meanings to wave = to flow (יבל) and to water (בול, בלל, Ps. xcii. 11),[1] suit the root בל, we do not even then attain to the meaning inundation for מבול; while on the other hand, according to the other derivation, מבול denotes some natural calamity or catastrophe in general, which is more nearly defined by מים as a *κατακλυσμός*. It has become *mamûl* in Syriac, but the supposition that the Hebrew מבול is formed from the Assyrian *abûbu* (the usual name of the Flood) is too far-fetched (Haupt in the excursus to Schrader's *KAT.*).[2] רוּחַ חַיִּים, breath of life, com-

[1] The meaning to water seems to pass over into the meaning to fertilize. According to Wetzstein, בול is the month in which the young *progenies* of the flock is born, from בול = יבל, to fertilize, whence also יָבָל designates the ram as الوابل does the rain as the fertilizing agent; استوبلت الغنم means the sheep desire the ram.

[2] The existence of a יבל, وبل, to flow, to wave, is disputed by Friedr. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* pp. 122-125. The different views concerning the origin and meaning of the Assyrian name for the Flood, *abûbu*, are discussed by Haupt in *Suess*, p. 70 sq., and he confirms his own views in *Hebraica*, i. 3 (Chicago 1885), p. 180.

prises, like vii. 15, human and animal life; comp. on the other hand, vii. 22, where it is used specially of men. גוע, root גו, means the collapse of death (like خاع, the collapse of the stomach). בָּאָרֶץ has the same meaning as בחרבה, vii. 22; the animal world of the waters is excluded. The covenant and its obligation, ver. 18: *And I will establish my covenant with thee: and thou shalt go into the ark, thou and thy children and thy wife and the wives of thy children with thee.* The reading הֲקִים בְּרִית is in the Elohistic style of the same meaning as כרת ברית in the Jahvistic; the former however comprises the maintenance as well as the institution of the covenant, the latter only the initiative. On the origin of ברית, see rem. on ch. xv. It is the name given to the mutual relation entered into by two equals, or to one in which the higher makes the advance to the lower. Into such a covenant relation does God now enter with Noah, a relation based upon the gracious condescension which, since sin entered the world, has aimed at raising mankind from the fall. The covenant consists in God on the one hand preserving Noah through the Flood, and on the other expecting obedience to His orders. The covenant will also profit Noah's belongings, and he becomes to them a mediator of the preservation for the effecting of which God as a party to the covenant makes Himself responsible. We see from וְאִשְׁתְּךָ that Noah had only one wife, and had thus remained faithful in marriage also to the will of its institutor. Preservation of the animals, vv. 19, 20: *And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep (them) alive with thee; a male and a female shall they be. Of the fowl each after its kind, and of the cattle after its kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after its kind, two of every kind shall come in unto thee, to keep (them) alive.* Only here is חָיָּה so pointed and not חַיָּה, as *e.g.* Ex. xxi. 35, according to Heidenheim to distinguish חָיָּה as a substantive from חַיָּה as an adjective. The מכל־בשׂר (without an article) following upon ומכל־החי shows

itself to be a subordinate partition, and therefore equivalent to a classifying genitive. The self-evident object is both times absent after לְהַחֲיֹת; comp. on xxxvii. 15, 17, and outside the Pentateuch, *e.g.* Jer. vii. 29. The provisioning, ver. 21: *And thou, take unto thee of all kinds of food that is eaten, and gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee and for them.* The inf. אָכְלָה always occurs only combined with ל of the purpose, and except Jer. xii. 9, always also with the dative of that to which the thing named is given to eat (comp. לֶאֱכֹל, "to eat," and לְמַאֲכָל, "for food"): "a thing is given לֶאֱכֹל on a particular occasion, it is given לְאָכְלָה for a continuance" (Driver). Since the scriptural account of the Creation excludes all subsequent creation (which must be firmly maintained in opposition to Reusch, *Bibel und Natur*, 1876, p. 322), the question, how the numerous animals and their food for a whole year could find room in the ark, is simply unanswerable, if the Flood is regarded as absolutely universal and not as only so far universal as to have carried off the whole of the then existing race of mankind, as Isaac Voss, so early as 1659, judges, *diluvio quidem totum genus humanum periisse, non tamen aquis cataclysmi universum terræ globum fuisse obrutum.* It is now acknowledged that the Flood in this latter kind of universality cannot be proved by fossil remains, these all belonging to the prehistoric epochs of the earth's formation. The Flood buried only men and a portion of the animal world, nor can we hope to discover bones of the creatures who then perished, such bones having in the course of centuries undergone in the upper soil the process of decomposition. Besides, the region of the dissemination of the human race was then still a limited one, and consequently the destruction of the animal world was also a limited one. Noah preserved in the ark the animal world by which he was surrounded, and indeed, since fish and the smaller creeping animals שֶׁרֶץ are not spoken of, those animals which were, by means of some nearer relation, within the range of his own knowledge. Even if the Flood were

regarded, as by Keerl, Keil and others, as absolutely universal, we could nevertheless only understand this universality so to mean, that no part of the earth was entirely spared, and not that the whole surface of the earth was so inundated that its entire animal world was drowned. For nothing is said after the Flood of completion by a subsequent creation, nor of any preservation of the animals by a miracle. Besides, a miracle does indeed effect what is naturally impossible, but still always by making the laws of nature subservient by force, not by capriciously abolishing them. The command carried into effect, ver. 22: *And Noah did (it), according to all that Elohim commanded, so did he.* In the Elohistic style, and literally the same as Ex. xl. 16; comp. Num. i. 54, v. 4, and elsewhere, with only the change of the Divine name.

THE DIRECTION TO ENTER, AND THE ENTRANCE INTO THE ARK, VII. 1–9.

Now follows a Jahvistic extract, which is however interrupted by the Elohistic ver. 6, and is thence to ver. 9 of a mixed character. The summons to enter, ver. 1: *And Jahveh said to Noah: Go thou and all thy house into the ark, for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation.* This narrator does not care, like the other, to mention the three sons of Noah by name, nor does he use the plur. of דּוֹר. Here also Noah appears as the righteous one, whom God has distinguished above all his contemporaries, He who sees the heart recognising in him a righteousness valid before Himself. צַדִּיק is an accusative predicate. The preservation of the animals, vv. 2, 3: *Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee seven each, the male and his female: and of cattle that is not clean two, the male and his female. Also of the fowl of heaven seven each, male and female, to keep seed alive upon the face of the whole earth.* It is the Jahvist himself, who in the case of the birds, between whom we are not accustomed to make distinctions of sex as in the case of four-footed beasts, *e.g.*

cow and ox, uses זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה instead of אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ. The distinction of clean and unclean animals is brought forward with an eye to the thank-offering to be subsequently related. Instead of הַטְּמֵאָה (which is purposely avoided, because the question here is not of fitness for eating, but of fitness or unfitness for sacrifice) it is said with syntactical correctness אֲשֶׁר לֹא טְהֹרָה הִוא, with הוא last, like Deut. xx. 15; 1 Kings ix. 20; only in a positive relative clause does הוא precede, as ix. 3. Whether שִׁבְעָה שִׁבְעָה means seven individuals or seven pairs (Knöbel, Schrader, Dillmann) is an old matter of dispute. שבעה שבעה of itself means by sevens, as שנים שנים, 9*a*, means by twos. And for what purpose should Noah have had to crowd the ark with seven pairs of clean (*i.e.* sacrificial) animals? It is more probable that seven heads, and so three pairs with one head over, and meant for sacrifice, are intended. For the chief purpose of their preservation was לְחַיּוֹת זֶרַע, *i.e.* to secure the continuance and dissemination of the animals (here the Piel, as at vi. 19 sq. the Hiph.). Announcement of the imminence of the judgment, ver. 4: *For in yet seven days, I cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights, and I blot out everything existing, that I have made, from the face of the earth.* The temporal לְ is here, as at Ex. viii. 19, that of direction, to the stated time of a future limit. Seven days are a week, שָׁבֻעַ, xxix. 27 sq. The noun יְקוּם (with the preformative *ja*, which is also the pref. of the imperf. יָקוּם = *ja-kvum*) means continuance, subsistence, and concretely anything subsisting (comp. Syr קנומא, hypostasis, person, perhaps transposed from נקומא), always in the combination כָּל־הַיְקוּם (besides here, vii. 23; Deut. xi. 6, hence Jahvistico-Deuteronomic). The preservation effected, ver. 5: *And Noah did according to all that Jahveh commanded him.* This Jahvistic counterpart to vi. 22 is followed by ver. 6, pointing back to the round numbers of v. 32: *And Noah was six hundred years old and the flood began, waters over the earth.* In the 500th year of his life Noah first became a father, in the 600th he entered the ark with his sons. The verb היה has

here as at ver. 10 its original meaning, *accidit, exstitit.* The suffix stands first in both members of the sentence: it is as at 1 Kings xiv. 17, the syntactic scheme for the expression of the contemporaneous, Ew. § 314*d*. מַיִם עַל־הָאָרֶץ appears here, contrary to vi. 17, more decidedly as an explanatory apposition to המבול. The entrance accomplished, vv. 7–9: *And Noah went in, and his sons and his wife and the wives of his sons with him, into the ark before the waters of the flood. Of clean cattle and of cattle that is not clean and of fowl and of everything that creeps upon the earth.—Two each went in unto Noah in the ark, male and female, as Elohim had commanded Noah.* These are the three verses of mixed origin; שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם is related harmonistically to both vi. 19 sq. and vii. 2 sq.; the animals were admitted by pairs without regard to the number of heads.

THE FLOOD AND THE PRESERVATION OF NOAH AND HIS FAMILY, VII. 10—VIII. 14.

A purely Jahvistic section begins with ver. 10: *And it came to pass after the seven days, and the waters of the flood were upon the earth;* more accurately: about the seventh of the days, when this respite that had been granted had elapsed. Here too (comp. Josh. iii. 3) the two members of the sentence stand in co-ordination, which declares that the second coincides with the first. The precise Elohistic date of the beginning of the Flood follows in ver. 11: *In the sixth hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on this day all the foundations of the great deep were broken and the sluices of heaven were opened.* It is a question whether the enumeration of the months begins from Nisan, the month of the ecclesiastical year nearest to the vernal equinox (Ideler, Tuch, Lepsius, Friedr. Delitzsch), or from Tishri, the month of the agricultural or civil year nearest to the autumnal equinox (Kn. Ew. Dillm.). This latter might also be called the natural year, because seed-time, which begins in Tishri, is a more

natural commencement of the year than harvest, which begins with Nisan. The answer will vary accordingly as the spring area is regarded as a Mosaic institution (in virtue of Ex. xii. 2) or considered (in opposition to the testimony of the *PC*) as one subsequently adopted under the influence of the Babylonians (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 3rd ed. p. 110). If the spring æra is an institution of Moses with regard to the ecclesiastical year, according to which the spring month חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב (Ex. xiii. 4, xxiii. 15) is the first month after the æra of the exodus, it is an obvious assumption that in the history of the Flood the months were not yet reckoned according to the period of the departure from Egypt, but according to the more ancient autumnal æra.[1] And it is for this that we decide with Josephus and the Talmud. In the legislation too we here and there perceive that the national year began with Tishri; for according to Ex. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22, the Feast of Tabernacles, or of the close of harvest, is to be celebrated at the turn or end of the year. And if the second month is not the second from Nisan (Babyl. *Nisânu*, according to Friedr. Delitzsch from *nisû* = נסע, to break up, to depart, to begin), and so Ijjar, but the second from Tishri (which, according to Fr. Delitzsch, bears this name as the beginning of the second half of the year), and so Marcheshvan (distorted from the Babyl. *araḫ šamna*, the eighth month, *i.e.* from Nisan), the commencement of the Flood will fall in the month בּוּל, which is the old Hebrew name of Marcheshvan, 1 Kings vi. 38. This latter month offers, as its name already declares, a natural starting-point for the commencement of the Flood, for the second half of October till about the middle of November is the period of the beginning of the early rain (יוֹרֶה or מוֹרֶה), which fell near the time of the autumnal equinox, and which by moistening the soil (בּוּל=בלל, Ps. xcii. 11) made the retilling of the fields practicable. These reasons are not outweighed by the statement of Alex-

[1] In the history of the creation also the definition of the days by morning and morning (not evening and evening) differs from the subsequent ecclesiastical calendar.

ander Polyhistor, that according to the announcement made to Xisuthros, the Flood was to begin on the 15th Daesios (Eusebii *Chron.* col. 19, ed. Schoene). Daesios is the Macedonian month corresponding with the Babyl. Sivan (*simânu*), the third from Nisan, about our June, in which the overflowing of the Euphrates reaches its greatest height (see Riehm, *HW.* p. 414), while the Tigris also overflows its banks somewhat later. But this periodical overflowing of the two rivers, in consequence of the rush of water from the Armenian high land, is nowhere brought forth in the accounts of the Flood as a co-operating factor. The Flood was, according to *J*, the effect of rain, and was according to *Q*, besides the rain, accompanied by the breaking up of the ground and the rushing of water from the deep—a phenomenon which characteristically accompanies convulsions of the earth in the alluvial districts of great rivers (Suess). תְּהוֹם רַבָּה is especially used of the sea, Isa. li. 10, lying below the level of the land, Ex. xx. 4, Deut. iv. 18, v. 8, including however all the waters that irrigate and fertilize the earth from beneath, xlix. 25, Deut. xxxiii. 13, Amos vii. 4, in which passages the תהום, upon which the earth is founded, Ps. xxiv. 2, cxxxvi. 6, appears separately. The מַעְיְנוֹת of the great deep (comp. Prov. viii. 28; Job xxxviii. 16) are its assumed subterraneous centres, whence the sea and all visible bodies of water are fed. These subterranean stores of water broke forth through the rent ground, while at the same time the אֲרֻבֹּת הַשָּׁמַיִם were opened. The noun אֲרֻבָּה means something closed by means of another fitting firmly into it (רב ✓ ארב): in the first place, a window consisting of a wooden lattice; here, where masses of water are kept back by it, and pour forth when it is opened (comp. "the doors of heaven," Ps. lxxviii. 23), it is used of sluices that can be closed. The LXX. has *καταῤῥάκται*, a word which combines the meanings of waterfalls, trap-doors, and sluices. It was by a co-operation of subterranean and celestial forces, which broke through the restraints placed upon the waters on the second and third days of creation, that the Deluge was brought

to pass. The Jahvistic statement of the duration of the rain, ver. 12: *And the rainfall came down upon the earth forty days and forty nights.* According to this, the sluices were closed after forty days; but comp. on the other hand ver. 24, viii. 2. In the context however, as we have it, we must understand the rainfall with which the catastrophe began. Entrance into the ark, according to *Q*, ver. 13: *On this same day did Noah go, and Shem and Ham and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and his sons' wives with them, into the ark.* According to *J*, the entrance took place during the seven days' respite. In the present connection בָּא must be understood in a pluperfect sense: *hoc ipso die*, viz. on the first day of the forty after the seven had elapsed, vii. 4. Instead of אִתָּם (with their husbands), the LXX. has the more significant μετ' αὐτοῦ. The animals who went in with Noah, according to *Q*, vv. 14–16*a*: *They, and every beast after its kind, and all cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after its kind, and every fowl after its kind, every kind of bird, every kind of winged creature. And went in unto Noah into the ark two each of all flesh, in which is the breath of life. And they that went in, went in male and female of every kind of flesh, as Elohim had commanded him.* The history is not tired of repeating that the animals were not forgotten; the Divine forbearance in the midst of wrath was manifested upon them also. Here for the first time in the account of the Flood are the wild beasts (חַיָּה) also named, which hitherto (as in Deut. xxviii. 26, xxxii. 24, and frequently outside the Pentateuch) were included in בְּהֵמָה. Winged animals too are carefully specialized: every kind of צִפּוֹר (from צפר, Palest. צְפַר, صفر, to pipe, √ צף, whence צְפְצֵף, to chirp), every kind of כָּנָף (a combination borrowed in Ezek. xxxix. 4), which will also comprise *e.g.* locusts, in which sense the Samar. here and elsewhere translates עוף and צפור by *ḳamaṣ* (*ḳamaṣa* = קמצא, locusts). It is significantly added from *J*, 16*b*: *And Jahveh shut behind him.* It is certainly with intention that the יהוה of the original document is left

unaltered. This shutting in was an act of condescending kindness, *φιλανθρωπία*, a proof of love on the part of God, who is thus interested in the matter. בְּעַדוֹ, in its first meaning, behind him (*pone*, like נְעַד, *post*), so that he was secure behind the closed door.

An interweaving of the two documents now describes how the ark floated, kept up in safety upon the waters, while all around every living creature on the solid earth was destroyed. We dispense with the attempt to disentangle the web; it is certain that what is said 17*b* is Elohistically repeated ver. 18, and that it proceeds Elohistically as far as ver. 21. 17*a* and ver. 22 are doubtful. But ver. 23 is certainly *J's*, and ver. 24 *Q's*. The description is a model of majestic simplicity and sublime beauty without any artificial means, vv. 17–20: *And the flood was forty days upon the earth, and the waters increased and lifted up the ark, and it floated high above the earth. And the waters prevailed, and increased greatly upon the earth, and the ark went upon the face of the waters. And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, and all the high mountains that were under the whole heaven were covered. Fifteen cubits upwards did the waters prevail, and the mountains were covered.* The tautologies of the account as it lies before us portray the fearful monotony of the unbounded expanse of waters, and the place of refuge floating safely upon it, though surrounded by the horrors of death. The forty days are the above-named forty days of rain. מְאֹד מְאֹד is an ancient superlative, which beside xvii. 2, 6, 20, Ex. i. 7, Num. xiv. 7, only occurs twice in Ezekiel and twice in Kings. If we isolate the statement, ver. 19, of the height to which the Flood rose from its context, we must, it seems, conceive of Chimborazo, Davalagiri and all the highest summits of the earth as submerged. But the statement is to be understood in the same manner as when it is said, Deut. ii. 25, that God is shortly about to spread terror among all the peoples that are under the whole heavens (comp. with the expression, Deut. iv. 19;

Acts ii. 5), or when, according to xli. 57, "the whole earth" (as we should say all the world) came to Egypt to buy corn, or according to 1 Kings x. 24, to Jerusalem to hear the wisdom of Solomon, or as when St. Paul says, Rom. x. 18, that the gospel has sounded εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, and i. 8, that the faith of the Roman Church is spoken of ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ. The statement here made is limited in accordance with its date by the fact, that it must be understood according to the extent of the ancient geographical horizon, and in accordance with the context by ver. 20, in which the fifteen cubits can only be an average statement from a certain standpoint. The ark drew about fifteen cubits of water, hence at the time of its stranding the waters which were then beginning to fall still covered the mountain, on which it stranded, to the height of about fifteen cubits. It has been asserted that a partial flood, rising fifteen cubits above only moderately high mountains, is nonsense. But the Flood was not caused only by rain from above, but at the same time by the influx from beneath; consequently the waters could, just where the extermination of the numerous population who would have fled to the mountains was to be effected, stand at such a height, without reaching a similar height elsewhere or uniformly covering the whole earth. The narrator has with increasing effect described the Flood as ascending higher and higher, we now hear how everything living was buried beneath it, vv. 21–23: *And all flesh that moved upon the earth died, of birds and of cattle and of beast and of all small animals that swarm upon the earth, and all men: all in whose nostrils was the breath of the inspiration of life, all whatever lives on the dry land, died. And He destroyed everything existing upon the face of the earth, from man to cattle, to creeping thing and to the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth, and Noah only was left, and they that were with him in the ark.* While the expression "all that was under the whole heaven" is not Elohistic, but Deuteronomic and therefore Jahvistic (Deut. ii. 25, iv. 19), the Elohistic style is distinguished in ver. 21 by

the בְּ, which specializes the whole according to its several contents, comp. viii. 17, ix. 2; Num. iv. 16 (and indeed also Hos. iv. 3). On the other hand, נִשְׁמַת רוּחַ חַיִּים, ver. 22, points back to ii. 7, from which place onwards נְשָׁמָה is the usual word for the self-conscious human spirit. חָרְבָה too (a synonym of יַבָּשָׁה), like Ex. xiv. 21, harmonizes with the Jahvistic tone, while the partitive מִכֹּל, *quodcunque*, is, as shown by vi. 2, at least not opposed to it. In ver. 23 the reading is not, according to the Masorah, וַיִּמַּח, *impf. apoc. Niph.* (passive with an accus. of the object), but וַיִּמַח, *impf. apoc. Kal*, whence the form is accentuated as *Milel*, not like the *Niph.*, Ps. cix. 13, comp. Isa. xlvii. 3, as *Milra*. הִשְׁאִיר, to be left over, especially in catastrophes, xiv. 10, Ex. xiv. 28, Dan. x. 8, has here the same meaning as in the subsequent national שְׁאָר or שְׁאֵרִית (parall. יֶתֶר, Zeph. ii. 9, from נוֹתַר, Isa. iv. 3; comp. i. 8). Duration of the increase of the Flood, according to *Q*, ver. 24: *And the waters prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days.*

Ch. viii. 1–5 now relates the turn of the Flood from increasing to abating till the tops of the mountains were seen. It is beyond doubt that viii. 1*a*, 2*a*, 3*b*–5, belong to *Q;* nor is there any adequate reason for denying him the authorship of 1*b*, but 2*b* reads like a continuation of vii. 12, and 3*a* also seems to be a statement of the gradual abatement entered from *J.* The turning-point, viii. 1: *Then Elohim remembered Noah, and all the beasts and all the cattle that were with him in the ark, and Elohim made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters abated.* God remembered Noah, *i.e.* (like xix. 29, xxx. 22, Ex. ii. 24, everywhere with the Divine name אלהים) He showed that He did not forget him (and his), and the animals confined with him. When the wrath of the Judge prevailed the waters rose; now grace and faithfulness to promise began to effect their work of deliverance, and the waters abated, שכך, related to תכך, שחח. The wind, which everywhere in Scripture appears as the first elementary appearance of that creative power which pervades the world of nature, stands first

as an intermediate cause. Simultaneous cessation of the influxes from beneath and above, ver. 2: *And the foundation of the deep, and the sluices of heaven, were closed, and the rain from heaven was restrained.* Contrasts to vii. 11*b*, 12, and in the same order. Continuance of the decrease, ver. 3: *And the waters retreated from the earth in a continual retreat, and decreased after the lapse of a hundred and fifty days.* The gerund הָלוֹךְ, *eundo*, designates the continuance of the retreat, as at ver. 5 that of abatement, and xxvi. 13 that of increase. מִקְצֵה (always with an undageshed ק) means from the end of a period onwards, hence after its lapse; it is of like meaning with מִקֵּץ, ver. 6, iv. 3. After the lapse of a hundred and fifty days, during which the water had, according to vii. 24, increased, it abated. The hundred and fifty days extend from the seventeenth day of the second month, on which the Flood commenced, to the seventeenth day of the seventh month, on which the ark stranded, ver. 4: *And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on the mountains of Ararat.* The name אֲרָרָט is the name of a country, like the Assyr. *Urarṭu*. It is the name of the country to which the sons of Sennacherib fled after the murder of their father, 2 Kings xix. 37, and is mentioned, Jer. li. 27, together with מִנִּי (Armenia); it is undoubtedly the East-Armenian province of Araratia in the plain of the Araxes at the foot of Taurus (Jer. on Isa. xxxvii. 38), Armenian *Airarat*. The Targums on the contrary translate אררט, the land of the קרדו, *i.e.* Korduene (Karduchia), on the left bank of the Upper Tigris as far as to the Zâb; so do the Syrians (Pesh. on viii. 4, Isa. xxxvii. 38, and Ephrem) and the Moslems, who designate *'Gebel 'Gûdi* south-west of Vân-See as the landing-place of Noah. Berosus too, in Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3. 6, Eusebius and Epiphanius name the Gordyaian mountains. The Babylonian legend again speaks differently. According to this, Hâsisadra's vessel stranded upon the mountain *Niṣir*, which, like הרי אררט, is the same as mountain in the land of Niṣir; and this, according to an inscription of Asurnâṣirpal, must be sought east of the Tigris

beyond the lower Zab. Both these statements of locality are interesting, the former of the land of Kardu, nearly the present Boktan (see Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T.* p. 150); the latter, which regards the mountain Niṣir (according to Suess, p. 27, one of the spurs of the Tigris lowland) as the mountain where the ark landed.[1] The Scripture tradition leads to Eastern Armenia. "Upon the mountains of Ararat" is, according to a similar use of the plural, xix. 29, Judg. xii. 7, the same as upon one of the mountains of this country. It is not necessary, but still very obvious, to think of the Ararat chain rising in two high peaks above the plain of the Araxes. Tradition also adheres to this chain, for the place of descent from the ark was called, according to Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3. 5, *ἀποβατήριον*; and this, viz. *primus descensus*, is the signification of Nachitshevan (in Ptolemæus Naxuana), the ancient city on the east side of Ararat, on the north bank of the Araxes. We are however by no means led to suppose that the ark rested upon the small plateau covered with perpetual snow of the so-called Great Ararat, 16,000 feet high. For this plateau has from all sides of its brink so precipitous a declivity, that the descent would have been impossible to the inhabitants of the ark. Not till recent times, and very seldom, has this summit been reached (1829 by Parrot, 1876 by Bryce), over a field of snow extending 3000 feet downwards. The other peak is called Little Ararat, this being 4000 feet lower; its snow melts in the middle of summer, but it rises all the more steeply in the form of a cone. From this nevertheless gigantic mountain-cone a smaller comb-like range of heights extends towards the eastern declivity of Great Ararat with its

[1] The Phrygian legend, which makes a mountain in Celänä, in the neighbourhood of the subsequent Apamea-Kibotos, the landing-place of the ark (*κιβωτός*), and the translation of אררט by סרנדיב, *i.e.* Ceylon in the Samar. Targum, are left out of consideration. סרנדיב seems however to be a recent gloss instead of the original הררט, which Petermann and Heidenheim have accepted in opposition to Brüll, whose text is that of the London Polyglot. The Book of Jubilees, Epiphanius and others call the mountain where the ark landed Λουβάρ.

silvery head.[1] The ark may have rested somewhere on this range of heights; the account does not oblige us to think of a high summit as its place of landing, nay, a comparatively low one results from the circumstance that in scarcely $2\frac{2}{3}$ months after the stranding the tops of the mountains were visible, the water having hence sunk about 20 feet, and that the account puts down only about five months for the remaining period of drying up. Appearance of the mountain-tops, ver. 5: *And the waters were in continual decrease until the tenth month; in the tenth month, on the first of the month, the tops of the mountains were visible.* Instead of הָי הֹלְכִים וְחסֹרִים (*tempus durans*) we have היו with two *inf. abs.*: they were found in a condition of continuous decrease, Ew. § 280*b*.

A Jahvistic section follows; intelligence sought by despatching birds. The first outlook, ver. 6: *And it came to pass after the lapse of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made.* Though, analytically regarded, this cannot point back to vi. 16, yet it is more probable that אֲשֶׁר חַלּוֹן refers to חלל, to bore, to break through) than to הַתֵּבָה. The raven, ver. 7: *And he sent forth the raven, and it went forth, going forth and returning, till the drying up of the waters from the earth.* Perhaps a fragment of *Q's* account of the sending forth of the birds (*Paradies*, p. 157 sq.); but then עוד and אחרים must have been an editorial insertion. In the Babylonian account Hâsisadra sends forth at the dawn of the seventh day, first a dove (*summata*), then a swallow (*sinûnta*), both of which return, and thirdly a raven (*âriba*), which, wading in the water near the ship, does not however come into it again. The article of הָעֹרֵב is comprehensive of

[1] The Armenians call Little Ararat *sis* and Great Ararat *masis*, whence it seems that great, the meaning of *meds*, is contained in *ma*. Both mountains have acquired the name Ararat simply by the transference to them of the name of the country (LXX. Gen. viii. 4, τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἀραράτ; less ambiguously Jer.: *montes Armeniæ*). Moses v. Chorene, i. 15, explains *Airarat* = *Arajierat*, "Plain of King Ara," as at i. 7 he brings *Masis* into improbable combination with one King Amasia.

the species, like 1 Sam. xvii. 34, 1 Kings xx. 36, the individual being distinguished as the representative of the species, not from other individuals of the same, but from animals of other species. By יָצוֹא וָשׁוֹב (not understood and therefore disfigured by an inserted *οὐκ* by LXX. Syr. Jer.: *egrediebatur et non revertebatur*) is meant, that it was now lost in the distance and now returned to the neighbourhood of the ark, without however re-entering it, till the drying up was complete (יִבְשָׁת after the formation יָבְשָׁה); for the solid ground, always drying to a greater distance down from the mountain-tops, afforded it a resting-place, and it found abundant nourishment from the corpses floating upon the waters. Noah had purposely sent forth the neither delicate nor fastidious bird; its remaining away was a good sign. First trial with the dove, vv. 8, 9: *And he sent forth the dove from him, to see if the waters had run off from the face of the ground. And the dove found no resting-place for the sole of her foot, and she returned to the ark, for the water was still upon the face of the whole earth, and Noah stretched forth his hand, and caught her, and took her to him into the ark.* The description is tender, and speaks in human fashion of the dove (Josh. iii. 13). This is a bird of the valleys, Ezek. vii. 16, which were not as yet dry, and one that makes its nest in the clefts of the rock, Song Sol. ii. 14, which as yet offered no place of refuge that was snug and dry. It is told with sympathetic observation of every movement, how Noah took in the timid bird when she sought for refuge. He then waited another seven days (hence the first sending forth of the dove took place seven days after the sending forth of the raven), and let the dove out a second time, vv. 10, 11: *And he waited yet seven other days, and continued to send forth the dove out of the ark. And the dove came to him at eventide, and, lo, a newly plucked leaf of an olive tree in her mouth. Then Noah knew that the waters had subsided from the earth.* To wait is elsewhere called יָחֵל, הוֹחִיל, נוֹחַל, here once הֵחִיל (from חוּל חיל, حال, to writhe), to suffer pain, to wait painfully;

Olsh. Dillm. correct, וַיִּיחַל; it is certainly more probable that the twice occurring Niphal in ver. 12 should exchange with the preceding customary Piel, than with the elsewhere uncorroborated Hiph. Not at once, but late in the evening, did the dove return with an olive leaf in her mouth, not one floating about on the waters, but one just plucked, and therefore fresh; טָרָף, *decerptus*, passes over into the meaning *recens*, Arab. *ṭarîf*, fresh, piquant, fine (from *ṭarufa*, to be fresh, properly fresh plucked). The olive-tree has this in common with the laurel, that it grows even under water, hence an olive leaf is the first sign of life from the earth which is rising again from her watery grave. The dove returned, and that as an evangelist; an olive leaf and an olive branch have since been the emblems of peace and salvation, and her bringing back an olive leaf, לְעֵת עֶרֶב, has perhaps been already interpreted by the prophet Zechariah, xiv. 7, as an eschatological image. *Sicut circa vesperam*, says John Gerhard, *columba venit cum ramo olivæ* (so the Vulgate translates) *ad arcam: sic Spiritus Sanctus circa mundi vesperam doctrinam evangelii detulit ad ecclesiam.* Third trial with the dove, ver. 12: *And he waited yet seven other days, and sent forth the dove, and she did not continue to return to him again.* The form וַיִּיחַל is the impf. of the *Niphal* נוֹחַל, Ezek. xix. 5, from יחל. The Kal יָסַף is more fitting to the animal than the Hiph. הוֹסִיף, 10*b*, which expresses a deliberate voluntary act. The dove returns no more. This too is good news, valleys as well as mountains are now free from water.

Date of the end of the Flood from *Q*, vv. 13 (13*b* excepted) and 14: *And it came to pass in the six hundred and first year, in the first month, on the first of the month, the waters were dried up from the earth, then Noah removed the covering of the ark and looked, and, behold, the face of the ground was dried. And in the second month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, the earth was quite dry.* The verb חָרַב here means dried, יָבֵשׁ, quite dried up: the latter appears as the consequence of the former, Jer. l. 38 and Job xiv. 11,

with the borrowed passage, Isa. xix. 5. On the first day of the first month the earth was free from water, and on the twenty-seventh day of the second month quite dry. The Flood began on the seventeenth day of the second month, hence a full year and ten days had elapsed. But what kind of a year? An actual solar year of 365 days (in round numbers), or an approximative solar year of 360 days, or a lunar year of 354 days (in round numbers)? If it were a lunar year, the months would be of 29 and 30 days alternately; if an approximative solar year, they would be of 30 days throughout; if it were an actual solar year, the computation of the months is questionable, but the case is the same as in the year of 360 days; some way of reconciling the amount of the twelve months determined by the phases of the moon with the actual solar year must have taken place. These questions, and many more (see Ideler, *Chronol.* i. 479), are susceptible of different answers, because though the commencement and termination of the full year are indeed named (the second month of the one and the second month of the next year), the number of the days of which this full year consisted is not stated; for, leaving out of account the Jahvistic numbers $40+7+7+7$, only 150 of the days are expressly enumerated. From a harmonistic standpoint we may, with Silberschlag (*Chronologie der Welt*, p. 11 sqq.), count $150+73+40+21+34+57=375$ days, and thence conclude that the year of the Flood was an actual solar year. This was already the view of the Syrians, *e.g.* Ephrem. But from an analytical standpoint we have to deal with *Q* without regard to the numbers of *J*. It is safest to start from the determining meaning of the 150 days (viii. 24)=5 months. The beginning and ending of this number of days being expressly stated, vii. 11, viii. 4, 150 will be no merely round number, whence it results that the year of the Flood was an approximative solar year of 360 days. So *e.g.* des Vignoles in his *Chronologie de l'histoire sainte*, and Court de Gébelin in his *Monde primitif*. The ancient Indian (according to the

Rigveda), the ancient Persian and ancient Egyptian year was such a year of 360 days. The Parsi-Calendar equalizes it with the actual solar year by five intercalary days at the end of the year, and an intercalary month at the end of every 124 years (*DMZ.* xxxvi. 59, xxxiv. 710). In Egypt too the agreement was restored by five supplementary days (ἐπαγόμεναι), but so that after a long period there was a moveable year, the New-year's day (1 Thot) of which did not again happen on the same day—July 20, as that of the rising of the Sothis or day-star—till after a period of 1461 years. In Babylon also computation was made by months of 30 days: the month *arḫu* being ideogrammatically written with the number 30 in the middle. Nothing however is said of intercalary days (ἐπαγόμεναι), but we are told of an intercalary month, which was from time to time inserted (comp. Lotz, *Historia Sabbati*, p. 38) after Adar (*Adûru*), or also after Elul (*Ulûlu*), as a compensation, whether for the 360 days or for the 354 of the lunar year. In the computation of the year of the Flood we must have no regard to such intercalary compensation. If we leave out of consideration the identity of 150 days with 5 months, it might appear as a lunar year, raised by the addition of 10/11 days to a solar year ($354+11=365$). If, on the other hand, we make the computation 150 days = 5 months the rule, the 360 days are increased by the addition of 10 to the indifferent and purely historical number 370. Ew. Schrader, Dillm. see in the 150 days the remnant of a discrepant tradition, according to which the Flood lasted $150+150=4\times75$ days, of which another trace is also shown in the date of the first stage of the abatement, viz. the seventeenth day of the seventh month (the stranding) and the first day of the tenth month (emergence of the mountain-tops), which seems to be reckoned as a period of $3\times30-15=75$ days.

THE GOING OUT OF THE ARK, NOAH'S SACRIFICE, AND THE PROMISE OF JAHVEH, VIII. 15 SQQ.

Noah having landed on one of the mountains of Ararat, receives directions to leave the place of refuge, vv. 15–17: *Then Elohim spoke to Noah, saying: Go forth out of the ark, thou and thy wife and thy sons and sons' wives with thee. Every living thing that is with thee, of all flesh of birds and of cattle and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, bring forth with thee; and they may swarm upon earth, and be fruitful and multiply upon the earth.* צֵא corresponds with וָבֹאתָ, vi. 18, and still more in the present connection with בֹּא, vii. 1. How extensive is the notion of חַיָּה has been already shown, i. 24, 28, 30; here it stands first as a general term for the animal world. The prep. ב is, as at vii. 21, ix. 2, x. 15, 16, subdividing, though only in a rhetorical, not a strictly logical manner. At the close it is said הוצא, all these animals with thee. The Chethiv is to be read הוֹצֵא, like xix. 12; the Keri, although the verb in Ethiopic originally presents ו, substitutes for reasons unknown to us הַיְצֵא, like הַיְשַׁר for הוֹשַׁר, Ps. v. 9, comp. the similar forms with audible Jod, Prov. iv. 25; Hos. vii. 12; 1 Chron. xii. 2. God at once renews with words mighty to bless, to the animals who are to be brought out of the ark, their creative destination, and then the exit is related with glad fulness of words, vv. 18, 19: *Then went forth Noah and his sons and his wife and his sons' wives with him. Every living thing, every creeping thing, and every bird, everything that moveth upon the earth, after their families, went forth out of the ark.* Everything in vv. 17–19 bears the mark of *Q*, to which also belongs the comprehensiveness of the notions of both רמשׂ and חיה. His classifications are barely translateable. Instead of לְמִינֵהֶם, i. 21, he here once uses the more select and solemn לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתֵיהֶם. Ancient translators have no feeling for this change. The narrative goes on in the words of *J*. The Jahvist, who related the sacrifices of the first pair of brothers, here tells of the begin-

ning of post-diluvian sacrifice, ver. 20: *And Noah built an altar to Jahveh, and took of all clean cattle and of all clean birds and offered up burnt-offerings upon the altar.* This is the first time that an altar is mentioned in Holy Scripture, and that the offering is called עֹלָה; instead of הביא מנחה, iv. 3, we here read העלה עלת (from עלה, to be consumed in fire, that is, to be reduced to ascending vapour, Judg. xx. 40; Jer. xxxviii. 35; comp. Amos iv. 10). The altar, though not named like *altaria* from the height, but as a place where an offering was slain, is to be thought of as an elevated place: Ezekiel calls it symbolically הַרְאֵל, God's height, as the sacrificial hearth אֲרִיאֵל, the burning-place of God, from ארה, to burn (see Ges. *Lex.* 10th ed.). The Mesha inscription has for it אראל, plur. אראלי, which Smend-Socin translates "*Altaraufsatz*" (place of fire ?). The reason why the sacrifice is now sent up upon one of the high places of earth in flame and vapour towards heaven is, as Hofmann has shown, that the visible presence of Jahveh has forsaken the world. The look of one who prays and sacrifices is no longer directed towards the west, where the cherubic presence of God marked the place of the lost Paradise, but towards heaven; there is the throne of Jahveh, whence, according to Ps. xxix. 10, He inflicted the judgment of the Flood.[1] The clean animals are here eatable, though all were not so according to subsequent laws concerning food; nor must those used on this occasion be limited to such as were, according to later laws, sacrificial. Acceptance of Noah's sacrifice, vv. 21, 22: *And Jahveh smelt the odour of pacification, and Jahveh said to his heart: I will not proceed to inflict again a curse upon the ground for man's sake; for the imagination of the human heart is evil from youth, and I will not proceed to smite again every living thing, as I have done. During all the days of the earth, seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night, shall not cease.* What is called in Greek κνίσσα, is in the Bible called odour (scent) of pacification, נִיחֹחַ, after the

[1] See my essay, "Der Blick gen Himmel," in the *Neue Christoterpe*, 1882.

formation נִיצוֹץ, from נוּחַ, to pacify, to appease wrath and turn it to favour. In the cuneiform account of the Flood the parallel passage runs: "The gods sucked in the scent, the gods sucked in the well-smelling scent (*iriša ṭâba*); the gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer." The scriptural expression also is anthropomorphic, but more worthy of God. Jahveh accepted with favour the thankfulness and desires of the rescued manifested in the heavenward streaming sacrifices, saying to His heart, *i.e.* (like xxiv. 45, comp. xxvii. 41) to or in Himself (Targums, בְּמֵימְרֵיהּ), that He was graciously resolved never again to inflict so universal a judgment upon mankind.[1] Human sinfulness which had incurred it, vi. 5, is henceforth to have no similar consequence, because it is now the common inheritance of mankind, and decidedly influences the individual even before his entrance upon the riper age of fully conscious self-determination,—a time of patience, *ἀνοχή*, is now to begin, Rom. iii. 16, God taking pleasure in the desire for salvation manifested in the sacrifice of those who had been preserved from the Flood. "All the days of the earth," *i.e.* during the whole further course of time, hence to the end of earthly history, the regular interchange of seasons and times is to suffer no such interruption as had taken place through the Flood. The first three pairs of words, זֶרַע וְקָצִיר, קֹר וָחֹם, קַיִץ וְחֹרֶף, do not signify, as Jewish expositors insist (see Rashi), six seasons of two months each (a division of the year which is found in the Vedas), but divide the year into two halves, as among the ancient Greeks into *θέρος* and *χειμών*, in Hesiod, *ἄμητος* and *ἄροτος*: The rainy wintry season, חֹרֶף with its cold קֹר (Jer.

[1] According to Budde (art. on Gen. iii. 17, v. 29, viii. 21, in Stade's *Zeitschr.* 1886, p. 30 sqq.), it is J^2 who fashioned viii. 21 after iii. 17, excluding the history of Paradise related by J^1, and replacing his history of the Fall by his own history of the Flood, although regarding the Flood as קַלֵּל אֶת־הָאֲדָמָה is quite inappropriate, because a curse always implies some spiritual power which *permanently* influences the nature and conditions of that which is affected. It is however an exaggerated acuteness which recognises no קְלָלָה in the decree of punishment, vi. 13, and its execution. On the other hand, Budde is in the right when he says that Riehm in *Stud. u. Kritik*, 1885, p. 780, is mistaken in referring לֹא אֹסִף back to iii. 17.

xxxvi. 22) and its field tillage, זֶרַע (or חָרִישׁ, Ex. xxxiv. 21; Prov. xx. 4), made possible by the early rain (חָרִיף, خريف = יוֹרֶה, Neh. vii. 24; Ezra ii. 18), and the dry season of summer, קַיִץ (קָבַט from קַיִט, to be burning hot), with its heat, חֹם (Isa. xviii. 4), and its harvest, קָצִיר (Jer. viii. 20). The year is halved, as in Ps. lxxiv. 17; Amos iii. 15; Zech. xiv. 8. The LXX. translates וחרף, *καὶ ἔαρ*; חֹרֶף means indeed the first half of the agricultural year (see on Job xxix. 4), on which account the notion of the premature is combined with it (Talm. חרף, opposed to אפל, to be late), but spring is called אָבִיב (comp. Himyar. חרף, harvest, דתא, spring, *DMZ.* xxx. 324). The fourth pair promises the regular succession of day and night, for this too had been disturbed during the Flood, the earth being enveloped in cloudy darkness. The order of nature thus ratified anew is a subject of praise for prophecy and lyric poetry, Jer. xxxi. 35 sq., xxxiii. 20, 25 sq.; Ps. lxxxiv. 16 sq. The double לֹא אִסְּף has, according to Isa. liv. 9, the force of an oath.

THE FOUNDATION OF A NEW ORDER OF THINGS, IX. 1–7.

Natural relations being now secured by promise against such a catastrophe as that experienced by means of the Flood, new physical, ethical and judicial foundations are given to human life. The fundamental conditions of the increase and preservation of the human race are however first renewed, and first of all the creative blessing of propagation, ix. 1: *And Elohim blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them: Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth.* A repetition of i. 28. Next, man's vocation of power over the animals is renewed: *And let the fear of you and the terror of you go forth upon every beast of the earth and every fowl of heaven, of all that moves on the ground and of all fish of the sea; to your hand they are given.* The suffixes of מוֹרַאֲכֶם וְחִתְּכֶם are obj.: fear and terror before you (comp. xvi. 5,

xxvii. 13, l. 4; Mal. i. 6), חִתְּכֶם from חַת, Job xli. 25 (comp. the comparative form, Eccles. xii. 5), with *i* instead of *a* in a doubly closed syllable. The dominion of man over the animals has no longer its original and inoffensive character, i. 28, ii. 19 sq.: he must now bring them into subjection by exerting himself to make them serviceable. Budde takes the ב of בְּכֹל as that which is usual after notions of dominion, it is however the specifying ב, see on vii. 21; the remaining animals are ranged under the two main divisions of the animal world חיה and עוף, the language disregarding the actual state of circumstances. All are given into the hand of man, who is to have and to maintain the upper hand in the now unavoidable conflict. And because the Paradisaic fertility of the earth and the childlike inoffensiveness of the former quiet life have now ceased, the eating of flesh is also permitted, ver. 3: *Every moving thing that liveth, let it be to you for food, as the green herb I have given you all.* Certainly men had already eaten not merely vegetable food and milk, but flesh also; this they had done however arbitrarily, they are now authorized to do it by Divine announcement. 3*b* refers back to the original authorization, i. 29. On נָתַתִּי and אֶת־כֹּל (everything whatever), see there also. On *viror herbæ*, see on i. 30. The אַךְ which follows (originally affirmative, then frequently, as at vii. 23, restrictive, sometimes also, as here, comp. Lev. xi. 4, Ps. lxviii. 7, Zech. i. 6, exceptive or contrastive, as more frequently אָכֵן) introduces a limitation of that participation of flesh which is now permitted, ver. 4: *But flesh in its life, its blood, shall ye not eat.* The בְּ is the Beth of association, and דָּמוֹ is in apposition to בְּנַפְשׁוֹ. Flesh while combined with its life, *i.e.* its blood, is still forbidden, according to the wording of the prohibition the flesh of a still living unslaughtered and consequently a not yet bloodless animal (viz. pieces cut off, אֵבֶר מִן־הַחַי, according to the synagogal expression), as the Abyssinians *e.g.* will under circumstances cut out a piece from the hind quarter of the cow they are driving, and esteem fresh raw flesh with the muscular contortions still visible as the

greatest of dainties (comp. the article "Abessinische Beafsteaks aus lebenden Ochsen geschnitten," in *Ausland*, 1868, p. 406 sq.). Every partaking of blood, and therefore of the still bleeding flesh of a slaughtered animal, is however at the same time forbidden,[1] for the reason בנפשו דמו gives the command, of universal application to every kind of eating with the blood: flesh in which there is still blood is not to be eaten, because the blood is the life, Deut. xii. 23, or, as may be also said, because the life of all flesh is the blood, Lev. xvii. 14, or more accurately, is in the blood, Lev. xvii. 11. Blood and life are one, inasmuch as they are in one another in a relation of intercausation; the blood is not the same as the life, but it is before all other constituents of the animal corporeality the manifestation, material and vehicle of that life, which pervades, fashions and continuously regenerates the corporeality. This relation of the life to the blood, a far more direct one than to the flesh (for the blood is the medium of life to the latter), is indicated by the juxtaposition of נפשו and דמו, which at the same time suggests the reason for this prohibition of the blood, viz. a sacred reverence for that principle of life flowing in the blood, which even as that of the animal is derived from God, who bestows a participation in His all-animating life. This respect, which is due to the life of even a beast, and not the prevention of a brutalization of human life, which might be feared by its too near contact with brute life, is the ground of the prohibition. For the latter motive finds no expression in the Old Testament, and is in contradiction with the use of animal blood in Divine worship. This prohibition of blood is repeated seven times in the Mosaic legislation besides Lev. xix. 26, viz. Lev. iii. 17, vii. 25 – 27, xvii. 10 – 14, Deut. xii. 16, 23, 24, xv. 23, and gives as a further reason, Lev. xvii. 11, that the blood is an atonement, בַּנֶּפֶשׁ, by reason of the life that is in

[1] Jewish tradition does not hold this view: it enumerates seven Noachian commandments, of which six had been binding from Adam onwards. After the Flood the prohibition of the *membrum de vivo* was added; see Gust. Marx, *Tötung Ungläubiger nach talm. rabb. Recht* (1885), pp. 28-30.

it. This motive for the prohibition fell away with the types and shadows of the law of sacrifice, but the other continues, though it is not binding with the legal force of the Old Testament. In the four apostolical prohibitions, Acts xv. 20, 29, xxi. 25 (comp. *Const. apost.* vi. 13), that of blood is split in two, both the blood of slaughtered animals and everything strangled, and therefore its blood not shed (טְרֵפָה and נְבֵלָה) being in conformity with the Mosaic law forbidden. With וְאַךְ a second exception appears beside the אַךְ of 4*a*. The killing of beasts for food is freely granted, yet blood is to be avoided, and on the other hand the life of man is inviolable, ver. 5: *And yet your blood according to each of your souls will I require, from the hand of every beast will I require it, and from the hand of man, from the hand of every one's brother will I require the life of man.* If the לְ of לְנַפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם were *dat. commodi*, like Deut. iv. 15: for defence to your souls (Tuch, Kn.), it would stand after אֶדְרֹשׁ. If it were the ל of possession (LXX. Syr. Jer. and most interpreters), we should expect אֲשֶׁר לנפשתיכם. And if a pregnant expression of "your blood, your own blood," were intended (Budde), דם נפשתיכם would have been said. It best corresponds with the Elohistic diction to take ב in a distributive sense: your blood, to whosesoever life it may belong. The verb דרש in a judicial sense means: to require again from any one something which he has destroyed, and so to demand compensation, satisfaction for it (whence exactly: to avenge, Ps. ix. 13; 2 Chron. xxiv. 22), with מִיַּד, Ezek. xxxiii. 6, xxxiv. 10 (synon. בִּקֵּשׁ מיד, 2 Sam. iv. 11; דרש מֵעִם, Deut. xviii. 19), comp. מִיַּד of animals, Ps. xxii. 21. God will avenge the death of man (1) on the animal, which has thus broken through the bounds of its God-ordained relation to man. Man naturally extirpates such beasts as are dangerous to human life, the destruction of every animal guilty of the death of a man here receives Divine sanction as a judicial procedure (comp. Ex. xxi. 28 sq.). (2) God will avenge the death of man on the man, who has thereby criminally broken the brotherly relation existing between all

men. אִישׁ is followed by an appositional אָחִיו, after the same fashion as xv. 10, xli. 12, xlii. 35; Num. xvii. 17. The noun standing in the case of genitive annexation in the second place stands emphatically first, and that which in such a relation occupies the first place follows with a suffix referring to the word before: from the hand of every man, of his brother, is the same as from the hand of the brother of every man; the same state of things occurs Zech. vii. 10.[1] (Imagine not evil against one who stands in brotherly relation to any of you.) Transference of vengeance on the murderer to men themselves, ver. 6: *Whoso sheds man's blood, by men shall his blood be shed: for in the image of Elohim made He man.* We have here the first trace of the appointment of a magistracy as the executor of the requirements of the moral government of the world, and hence as the representative of God (see on Ps. lxxxii. 6); and it is very important to note that as in the Old Testament the rights of the priesthood are in the first place the attributes of all Israel, and as in the New Testament the rights of the spiritual office are in the first place the attributes of the entire Church, so here too the attributes of political authority appear in the first place as the attributes of mankind; בָּאָדָם (found non-Hebraic by over-hasty criticism) means through men, as elsewhere also the personal *causa efficiens* is expressed by the passive with ב, Num. xxxvi. 2; Job xxvii. 15; Hos. xiv. 4; comp. *ib.* i. 7. Men themselves are thus placed, as a holy Vehm, against deeds of bloody violence, so far as these come to their knowledge and not merely to the knowledge of the Omniscient. As punishment by death is not here transferred to the nearest relative of a murdered man as גֹּאֵל הַדָּם, Num. xxxv. 19 (for אִישׁ אָחִיו does not mean a man his brother = his relative), it is not the so-called blood-vengeance which is here instituted, though this, especially within the rules and limits sanctioned by the Mosaic law, has its legal title in this Noachian command. The form in which the

[1] Comp. the investigation of this mode of speech in Budde, *Urgesch.* 283-289.

punishment is to be carried out is as yet left undefined by the command, which merely places it generally in the hand of men and requires it from them, without allowing of a money fine, as compensation. The murderer is to suffer that which he has inflicted; for murder is not only the extreme of unbrotherliness, but also a crime against the inviolable majesty of the Divine image, which even after the Fall is fundamentally the *character indelebilis* of mankind and of each individual. In the sentence which gives the reason, 6*b*, the main notion is genitive by attraction, like xiv. 1 sq.; Ps. lxv. 12, lxxxv. 14; comp. on the other hand, Hos. i. 2. R. Akiba in *Aboth* iii. 14 takes בצלם by itself: in the image Elohim made man. Conclusion of the Noachian Thorah, v. 7: *And you, be fruitful, and multiply, swarm upon earth, and multiply upon it.* The foundations of the new beginning of history being now laid, the Divine blessing with which the whole is rounded off is repeated.

THE TOKEN OF THE COVENANT IN THE CLOUDS, IX. 8–17.

The Elohistic passage, ix. 1–7, is here continued without interruption in a second Elohistic passage, beginning with וְאֲנִי, which corresponds with the וְאַתֶּם of 7*a*. The covenant-promise and covenant-pledge of God accompany the precepts to the newly blessed human race. Elohim will establish His covenant with mankind whom He has preserved, and with the animal world, vv. 8–11: *And Elohim spake to Noah, and to his sons with him, saying: And I, behold, I establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after you; and with every living soul that is with you, of fowl, of cattle, and of every beast of the earth with you, of all that go out of the ark, according to every beast* (je nach allem Getier) *of the earth. And I will establish my covenant with you, and all flesh shall not be any more cut off by the waters of the flood, and there shall not be any more a flood to destroy the earth.* In vi. 18 the establishment of the covenant was valid for the preservation of life in the midst of the

Flood, here for the prosperous continuance of the preserved races of men and animals. On וַאֲנִי הִנְנִי (with a particip. following as an expression of the *fut. instans*), see vi. 17. The covenant relation, of which Paul preached at Lystra, includes the animal world also, which sympathetically shares in the joy and sorrow of man, who is, as it were, the heart of the world. In ver. 10 the classifying prepositions are again heaped up (which alone is a certain sign of *Q*) in an almost untranslateable manner: first בְּ, of the parts of which the whole consists, then מִן, of the *genus ex quo, i.e.* of the general under which the particular is summed up, and thereupon לְ of the whole notion, according to which the particular comprehended therein is determined (comp. ver. 5, xxiii. 10; Ex. xxvii. 3, 19; Ezek. xliv. 9; Ezra i. 5). No animated being living in a body of flesh, neither man nor animal, shall henceforth be cut off מִמֵּי הַמַּבּוּל, by the water of the (recurring) Flood. The LXX. rightly translate the מִן by *ἀπό*, for with the passive it does not designate the subject, as *ὑπό* does, as self-active, but as that from which the action proceeds (comp. Obad. ver. 9, מִקֶּטֶל in consequence of the slaughter, but also Ps. xxxvii. 23, מה' from Jahveh); in the Latin *ab* (from *ἀπό*) the distinction is given up, nor is it carefully observed in the more recent style of the Semitic languages. The token of the covenant, vv. 12–16: *And Elohim said: This is the token of the covenant which I am about to make between me and you and every living creature which is with you, to eternal generations. My bow have I set in the cloud, and it shall serve for a token of the covenant between me and the earth. And it shall come to pass, when I bring a cloud upon the earth, the bow shall be seen in the cloud. And I will remember my covenant, which is between me and you and every living soul of all flesh, and the waters shall not henceforth become a flood to destroy all flesh. And the bow shall be in the cloud, and I will look upon it, to remember an eternal covenant between Elohim and every living soul of all flesh which is upon the earth.* With זֹאת God points to the rainbow which was then visible or just becoming so (comp. on Job xxxvii. 1).

A sign, especially such an one as becomes a sensible pledge of what is invisible or future, is called אוֹת = *awajat, âjat* (אָיָה), from אוה, to mark, Num. xxxiv. 10. What follows, אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי נֹתֵן, shows that אשר must be referred to the covenant, not to the token (comp. xvii. 2); דֹּרֹת עוֹלָם is a period of time extending over generation after generation into the immeasurable. The bow is called קֶשֶׁת, with a feminine termination, as the Arab. *ḳâus* shows (from قَاسَ, *fut. o.*, to bend, to curve), and the cloud in which God sets the bow (נָתַתִּי, of the just now fundamentally accomplished fact) is called עָנָן, as that which meets the eye of him who looks up (comp. ancient Arab. *ʿanan*, object, and ענה, to reply), from which עֲנָנִי, 14*a*, is denominated *νεφέλας ἀγείρειν*. The apodosis begins with וְנִרְאֲתָה, 14*b*, and is continued in וְזָכַרְתִּי. לִזְכֹּר, 16*b*, defines the purpose: God will see the bow, an intentional looking is meant, that He may remember the eternal covenant between God and earthly beings, viz. those remaining after the Flood. This passage is rounded off in ver. 17, just as the former one was in ver. 7: *And Elohim said unto Noah: This is the token of the covenant, which I have established between me and all flesh which is upon the earth.* כָּל־בָּשָׂר is here repeated for the twelfth, or including כל־הבשר, vii. 15, for the thirteenth time since vi. 12, and always in *Q*. "The bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain" is mentioned again within the Old Testament only at Ezek. i. 28 (comp. Apoc. iv. 3, x. 1). It is beautifully described, Ecclus. xliii. 12, comp. l. 7. It is indeed a phenomenon that may be accounted for by natural laws; but the laws of nature are truly the appointment of God, Ecclus. xliii. 11 sq., and it is just in its conformity to natural law that the rainbow is a pledge that the order of nature shall continue. And is there not to every law of nature a background pointing to the mysteries of the Divine nature and will? The label of the rainbow is sufficiently legible. Shining upon a dark ground which just before broke forth in lightning, it represents the victory of the light of love over the fiery darkness of wrath. Originating from the effect of

the sun upon a dark cloud, it typifies the willingness of the heavenly to pervade the earthly. Stretched between heaven and earth, it is as a bond of peace between both, and, spanning the horizon, it points to the all-embracing universality of the Divine mercy. Involuntarily — says Tuch — the idea of the interposition of the two worlds attaches itself to the coloured bow resting at both ends firmly on the earth.

NOAH'S BLESSING AND CURSE, WITH THE CONCLUSION OF THE TOLEDOTH, IX. 18–27.

The two Elohistic sections of legal tenor, ix. 1–7, 8–17, are now followed by a Jahvistic section of prophetic tenor, ix. 18–27. The time immediately succeeding the Flood is, like that immediately succeeding the Creation, a time of decision entailing momentous results. Then was decided the fate of mankind, now the fate of nations; and both, as is elsewhere the case in primitive times, by apparently trivial and commonplace occurrences. Hitherto *J*, so far as his history of Noah and the Flood has come down to us, has not mentioned the sons of Noah by name. Hence we need be the less astonished at the repetition, 18*a*: *And the sons of Noah, who went forth out of the ark, were Shem, Ham and Jepheth.* The three are named in the same order, v. 32, and farther on; this does not correspond with their succession in age, for Shem is, according to x. 21 (see there), the eldest, and Ham, according to the narrative here following, the youngest. Ed. König in his Latin dissertations on the linguistic proof of Biblical Criticism, 1879, p. 20, finds the reason for the transposition to be, that Ham stood in closer relation than Japheth to the first-born; but perhaps Japheth stands last only because his name formed a more rhythmical conclusion to the triumvirate which had become proverbial. At 18*b* it is remarked in preparation for the intelligibility of what follows: *And Ham is the father of Canaan.* This is now mostly regarded as an addition of the redactor, the

inference being drawn from the fact of the curse falling upon Canaan, that in the original version of the narrative it was Canaan who transgressed against Noah (Dillm. and others). Some go farther, and maintain that, according to the original wording, not Shem, Ham and Japheth, but Shem, Japheth and Canaan were the three sons of Noah (Wellh.); whence Budde, by means of critical operations which go beyond our horizon, obtains the result, that the narrative here following stood originally after xi. 9, and began: "And there went out also from Babel, Noah the son of Jabal, he, and his wife, and his three sons, Shem, Japheth and Canaan, and he went to the Syrian Mesopotamia, and remained there." Thus—he thinks—wrote J^1, who, as Wellh. and Kuen. also assume, knew nothing of a flood. We see here a specimen of what analysis, competitively carried out, can effect. On the other hand the suspicion is suggested, that *R*, when assigning its present position to the narrative, made Ham the transgressor instead of Canaan, for the sake of placing the narrative in still more varied relation to the genealogy of the nations which follows. This suspicion is however without justification: the relation of the narrative to ch. x. is, even if Canaan were the offender, close enough, and such distortion of the tradition would be purely arbitrary. Besides, we cannot imagine *R* so thoughtless as not to have taken into account the reason why Noah, because of the offender Ham, inflicted a curse on Canaan his son. What is related happened a considerable time after the Flood, and affords no superficial view of the moral state of that tripartite world of nations which descended from the three sons of Noah; for, as ver. 19 says: *These three are the sons of Noah; and from these was dispersed the whole earth, i.e.* the whole population of the earth, like x. 25, xi. 1, and as elsewhere, *e.g.* Judg. xviii. 30, the population of the country. The formation נָפְצָה is lightened from נָפַצָה, as נָפְצוּ is from נָפַצוּ, Isa. xxxiii. 3, a metaplastic formation from פוץ=פצץ (*Kal*, xi. 4, *Niph.* x. 18, *Hiph.* xi. 9), not from נפץ, for נָפַץ also, 1 Sam. xiii. 11, is the *Niph.* of פצץ, Ges. § 67, note 11. External occasion of the decisive

occurrence, ver. 20: *And Noah the husbandman began and planted a vineyard.* Hengst. Kn. Tuch (comp. Hitz. on Ps. cxiii. 9) translate: Noah began to be a husbandman (an agriculturist), which is incorrect as to matter, since it is not the cultivation of the field, but that of the vine, which is spoken of as a novelty; Ew. compares 1 Sam. iii. 2 (comp. also the subsequent usual expression הֵחֵלּוּ מְרַגְּזִים, they began to be angry). But though הֵחֵל with a predicate following (without להיות) is possible, yet this explanation is already doubtful, because only in rare instances of the *st. constr.* does the definition by the article attach exclusively to the second member of the phrase, xvi. 7, xlviii. 19; Judg. xiii. 6; 2 Sam. xii. 30; Ps. cxiii. 9. Hence we have to take together וַיָּחֶל . . . וַיִּטַּע, which is the same as ויחל לִנְטֹעַ, Ges. § 142. 3. According to this narrative the cultivation of the vine comes from Armenia;[1] and truly this and the whole of the eastern part of Pontus is the native place of the vine, for which, in regard of its stem and curling tendrils, there could be no name more graphic than גֶּפֶן, from √ גפ=כפ, to curve, while כֶּרֶם, on the other hand, means in itself only the hill and then the vine hill, vineyard (see on Isa. v. 1). Tradition designates the hill in the north-west, which leans on Great Ararat and facilitates its ascent, as the place of Noah's vine planting. Egyptian mythology refers the cultivation of the vine to Osiris, Greek to Dionysos, Persian to Dshemshîd; the statement of the Jahvist, in which is continued the series of the beginnings of civilisation given in ch. iv., is of a purely historical nature. Noah's transgression, ver. 21: *And he drank of the wine, and was drunk, and uncovered himself in the midst of his tent.* Wine, which was subsequently used for the purpose of public worship, had as well as other inventions a beginning defiled with sin. He who kept his ground against the waters of the great Flood succumbs to

[1] The village *Arguri* (i.e. *plantatio vitis*, from *uri*, the vine plant), destroyed 1840 by an eruption of Ararat, commonly pronounced Agurri, stood upon the spot stated by tradition to be that of the Noachian כרם.

wine. He lies half-naked, not indeed outside of, but within his tent (אָהֳלָה, another writing, as at xii. 8, xiii. 3, xxxv. 21, for אָהֳלוֹ). The insulting behaviour of Ham, ver. 22: *And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father and told it to his two brothers without.* He not only looks in without instantly drawing back, but tries without delicacy and without the piety due to his father, to induce others to join in his scornful merriment. It is a carnal and animal feeling which is here manifested, similar to that upon which a woe is pronounced by Habakkuk, ch. ii. 15. Contrary behaviour of Japheth and Shem, ver. 23: *And Shem and Jepheth took the upper garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders and went backwards and covered the nakedness of their father, and their faces were backwards, and they did not see the nakedness of their father.* וַיִּקַּח is purposely said, and not וַיִּקְחוּ: Shem was the chief personage, as Noah was at vii. 7, and the impulse and direction proceeded from him. But Japheth was in accordance with him; the narrative emphasizes as strongly as possible the common act of the two brothers, in which reverence, modesty and wisdom vied with each other in putting an end to the scandal. שִׂמְלָה is the upper garment which the father had thrown off instead of using it for a covering, Ex. xxii. 26; Deut. xxiv. 13 (שַׂלְמָה). שְׁכֶם forms no plural. אֲחֹרַנִּית is a like formation with קָדְמַנִּית, Mal. iii. 14. Noah's recovery from intoxication, ver. 24: *And Noah awaked from his wine, and knew what his youngest son had done to him.* The accented *á* of וַיִּיקַץ (*impf.* of יקץ) is shortened in וַיֵּיקֶץ into an unaccented *ĕ*. Wine is here equivalent to the effect of wine taken = drunkenness, as 1 Sam. i. 14, xxv. 37. בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן (not הַקָּטֹן, because קָטָן is the usual form with separative accents, and especially with pausal ones) means, according to 1 Sam. xvii. 14, xvi. 11, his youngest son, for it is a fallacy to assert that it is the "unanswerable" result of the succession, Japheth, Ham and Shem in ch. x., that Ham is the middle of the three, because, as Dillm. himself states in the introduction to ch. x., this

order was required by the method adopted in Genesis of proceeding from the most remote to the nearer and nearest. When two are spoken of, הקטן (הקטנה) may be just as well translated the younger as the youngest, xxvii. 15, xxix. 16, 18, comp. i. 16; but where several are spoken of, it means the *minor natu* in relation to all the rest. If this is correct, and if we may take x. 6, where Canaan appears as the youngest son of Ham, as an illustration, the sin committed against his venerable and grey-headed father by Noah's youngest son was visited upon the youngest son of the latter. It is however questionable whether the descendants of Ham are there mentioned according to their ages; moreover the genealogy in ch. x. is one not of families but of nations. It is sufficient for the law of retribution that Canaan was a son of Ham, and that according to the glance into the future which was granted to Noah, the low and mean disposition which Ham, in contradistinction to his two brothers, manifested towards his father, was visited in the relation of his son to the descendants of his brother, ver. 25: *And he said, Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren, i.e.* the most conspicuous and lowest of servants (comp. "prince of princes," Num. iii. 32), deeply humbled in conformity with his ominous name (comp. כנע, Judg. iv. 23; Deut. ix. 3; Neh. ix. 24). With regard to the fulfilment, he became the servant of Shem when Israel extirpated some of the Phœnicians of the interior and subdued others, and subjected them to the lowest menial services, Josh. ix. 23, 1 Kings ix. 20 sq.; and the servant of Japheth, when the Greeks and Romans overthrew Tyre and Carthage, after the Phœnician coast and colonial power had already been broken by the Assyrians, Chaldæans and Persians. Hannibal came to feel this curse when he beheld the head of Asdrubal thrown over the Punic intrenchments by the Romans, and exclaimed: *Agnosco fortunam Carthaginis.* The third Punic War (149–146) ended in the total demolition of Carthage and the infliction of the curse upon its site. In 439 it

became the capital of the kingdom of the Vandals, and the Phœnician people utterly disappeared from the roll of nations. The curse did not however fall upon Ham in all his posterity, and thus afford a semblance of right to the pro-slavery advocates. It did not fall *e.g.* upon Mizraim, a land extremely prosperous for a thousand years and a model of Hamitic civilisation. And even to the posterity of Canaan the curse only applied in the foreknowledge that the sin of their ancestor would be the type of their own moral condition (comp. ch. xix.; Lev. xviii. and xx.; Deut. xii. 31). The saying is no sentence of condemnation excluding the posterity of Canaan from salvation; the blessing of all nations in the seed of the patriarch includes the Hamites also, and especially Canaan; and though vassalage is indeed a national misfortune, it may become a means of blessing to a people, at least to those who, like Rahab and the Canaanite woman in the New Testament, do not participate in the national sin.—Punishment in its proper sense is, according to the teaching of Scripture (Deut. xxiv. 16; comp. 2 Kings xiv. 6; Ezek. xviii.), suffered by each individual only on account of his own sin.

After the curse upon Canaan, the two declarations of blessing begin with a fresh ויאמר, vv. 26, 27: *And he said: Blessed be Jahveh the God of Shem, and let Canaan be their servant. Elohim give large extension to Jepheth, and let him dwell in the tents of Shem, and let Canaan be their servant.* In both instances is the curse of Canaan repeated as a kind of refrain, like a *ceterum censeo;* it is the dark foil to the blessing of Shem and Japheth, to whom the two לְמוֹ refer. לְמוֹ occurs indeed sometimes (*e.g.* Isa. xliv. 15) as an imitated לוֹ (*lahu*) (Ges. § 103. 2), here however it has the presumption of being of like meaning with לְאֶחָיו. The Berachah of Shem becomes a Berachah of Jahveh. In view of the blessing of which Shem is to partake, Noah praises Jahveh, from whom this blessing proceeds, nay, who is Himself this blessing. Does a mutual relation between the blessing and the name of the person blessed take place here also? Perhaps so, for God in the sphere of His manifesta-

tion in act is called: He who makes Himself a name, and so close is the connection of God and His name, that God in His historical self-testimony is called (Isa. xxx. 27) שֵׁם ה׳. Jahveh makes Himself a name in becoming the God of Shem, and thus entwines His name with that of Shem, which means the name. In the blessing of Japheth the Distich swells to a Tristich. The blessing is here clearly connected with both the sound and meaning of the name. The *Hiph.* הַפְתָּה, from פתה, to be wide, to be open, may mean, like הִרְחִיב, Targ. אַפְתֵּי, introduction into an unrestrained position, but here, where the *status quo* is not restraint and loss of liberty, but isolation and limitation, it has the meaning of spacious extension (LXX. *πλατύναι*, Jer. *dilatet*), like שטח, also construed with לְ, Job xii. 23. The proper name יֶפֶת, traced back to פתה, is like the proper names אֶרֶךְ and תֶּמַח, from רדה and מחה, and the *nom. appell. segol.* תֶּמֶם, a reduction from הְמָמָה (*impf. cons.* וַתֶּמֶם). The name of God is here changed: He is called יהוה, as the God of salvation, the God of positive revelation, and as such He is the God of Shem. On the other hand He is called, with reference to Japheth, אֱלֹהִים, which is the more general name of God, especially as the Creator of the world. For Japheth stands in a relation to God chiefly brought about by the light of nature, and delights in the exercise of the natural powers with which man is endowed.[1] His tendency is an outward one, because the natural powers find their sphere of action and their material in the outer world. The blessing of Japheth consists (1) in his extension over a wide region of lands, and (2) in his coming to dwell in the tents of Shem. For יפת, not אלהים, is the subject of יִשְׁכֹּן. Philo (*Opp.* i. 402) makes God the subject, though hesitatingly: *ἴσως μέντοι τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰάφεθ ἀναφέρεται.* The Fathers unanimously explain, like Irenæus (iii. 5. 3): *dilatans Iaphet et constituens eum in domo Sem.* The reference to God has this in its favour, that שכן is the

[1] The Midrash (*Bereshith rabba*, c. 36) expresses this in the formula: Shem for the Tallith (the covering for prayer), Japheth for the Pallium.

special word for God's gracious presence in Israel (Onkelos: וְיִשְׁרֵי שְׁכִינְתֵּיהּ; comp. ἐσκήνωσε, John i. 14), and that thus the blessing of Shem reaches its climax in God's taking up His dwelling with him. Against this reference however, whose latest advocate is Briggs in his *Messianic Prophecy* (1886), p. 82 sq., may be adduced the following reasons: (1) that as Shem is the subject of the blessing, ver. 26, so also will Japheth be the subject of the blessing, ver. 27; (2) that God's gracious presence with Shem is already contained in בָּרוּךְ ה׳ אֱלֹהֵי שֵׁם; (3) that the God of Shem, as distinguished from the God of Japheth, is called, not אלהים, but יהוה; (4) that the plural בְּאָהֳלֵי leads us to infer a collective idea as the subject, and the more so, that the statement that God would dwell in the אהלי (משכנות) of Israel is elsewhere unconfirmed, because at variance with the unity of the place of worship; (5) that just in the circumstance that Japheth will have free hospitable access to Shem, whose God is Jahveh, and will dwell with him in brotherly fashion (Ps. cxxxiii. 1) in common tents, will the delicate filial action jointly performed by Shem and Japheth find its corresponding final blessing (Hengst. Tuch, Ew. Baur, Keil and others). For the same reason we cannot explain: let him dwell in the tents of renown (Ges. de Wette, Kn. Anger, Schrader), for the contemplated mutual reference of the blessing of Japheth and Shem is thereby destroyed, and it is besides improbable that שֵׁם should be at the one time a proper and the other a common noun. Nor for the same reasons can this dwelling be referred, as by Justin, *dial. c. Tryph.* c. 83, to the subjugation of Palestine by the Romans — the statement that Japheth was to settle as a conqueror in the tents of Shem (comp. 1 Chron. v. 10) would cast a gloom entirely without a cause upon the blessing of Shem. Dillm. finds in it a prophecy of the reception of Japhethic nations into the alliance of the old Semitic kingdoms, a reception which has become of great importance for the kingdom of God. The aim however of the prophecy is Israel, and it must hence be understood

according to such subsequent prophecies as Isa. xix. 24 sq., Ps. xlvii. 10, of the entrance of Japheth into the kingdom of God, which is with Shem (Targ. Jer.). To dwell thus with Shem is the honour and blessing of Japheth. The fulfilment is palpable: the language of the New Testament is the speech of Javan dwelling in the tents of Shem, the gospel is the proclamation of salvation translated from Semitic into Japhethic, and Gentile Christians are for the most part Japhethites dwelling in the tents of Shem. The Talmud also takes Japheth as the subject of ישכן, for it deduces from this blessing (*Megilla*, 9*b*; *Jer. Megilla*, i. 9) the justification of the use of the Greek tongue in public worship, which tongue it calls יפפותו שׁל־יפת, "the most beautiful possession of Japheth" (comp. יְפְיָפִיָּה, *Bereshith rabba*, c. 39, applied to Aquila as the translator), which presupposes that יֶפֶת is formed from יפה, as דֶּלֶת, כֶּסֶת, שֹׂקֶת are from stems לָהּ. Thus Shem is the most blessed. Canaan has the curse of servitude three times pronounced upon him. Shem receives a spiritual, Japheth a temporal blessing, and with it the prospect of participation in the spiritual blessing of Shem. The rest of Ham's descendants are left out of consideration, the subsequent promise of blessing to the nations in the seed of the patriarch including them also. Shem is henceforth the centre of sacred history. If God hereafter provides Himself with a family of salvation, and out of these with a people of salvation, this will take place among the posterity of Shem.

Now follows, ver. 28 sq., an Elohistic conclusion corresponding with the title, vi. 9: *And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years. And the sum of all the days of Noah amounted to nine hundred and fifty years, and he died.* The sing. of the predicate here stands with כל, as at v. 23, 31; comp. Isa. lxiv. 10; Prov. xvi. 2. With the death of Noah, the tenth generation of the genealogical table, ch. v., is completed, and at the same time his history and that of his nearest descendants from vi. 9. Separate תולדות are now devoted to the posterity of his sons.

IV.

THE TOLEDOTH OF THE SONS OF NOAH, X. 1–XI. 9.

These Toledoth give a survey of the population of the post-diluvian world by the descendants of the sons of Noah. They relate not so much to families as to nations, are less genealogical than ethnological, give not a family but a national pedigree, a catalogue of the nations descending from the three primitive ancestors of post-diluvian mankind. This is so composed, that sons and grandsons of these three are entered as the ancestors of homogeneous nations, but frequently also the nations themselves as the descendants of the three. It is self-evident that where the names are plurals, like כִּתִּים, nations and not individuals are intended. But also where the names are singular, like גֹּמֶר, it is questionable whether they are used in a collective or an individual sense. Apart from נִמְרֹד, and perhaps those direct descendants of Shem, ver. 24 sq., whose names are marked as personal names by the Toledoth of Shem, xi. 10 sqq., it is in the case of this table of nations a matter of indifference whether the names were the proper names of the actual ancestors, or whether the nations in question regarded themselves as proceeding from ancestors so called, as the Greeks *e.g.* did from Pelasgos, Hellen, etc., or whether it is only the composer of this table who thus gives names in the singular to nations, for the purpose of organically arranging them as stocks from the same root, in this sketch of the history of their origin. For he is following the notions and procedure of antiquity, which does not distinguish between the ideal and historical units from which nations are developed, between actual and so-called eponymous ancestors.

There are found elsewhere also among the civilised nations of Hither and Farther Asia, registers of nations and countries. The knowledge of countries and nations obtained by the Egyptians was in consequence of both their commercial and military expeditions of large extent, and already began to be fixed in cartographic attempts.[1] The cuneiform memorials, in which the Babylonian and Assyrian monarchs relate their campaigns, are copious mines of the oldest chorographical and ethnological knowledge, and among the brick tablets are found also independent beginnings of both topography and geography. But these surveys subserve national and mostly political interests, and are nowhere the result of a hearty interest in mankind beyond the nation and region that produced them. Besides, where they purpose to be universal, they either lose themselves in the fabulous, like the sections descriptive of the earth in the epic poems and certain Purânas of the Indians, or notwithstanding their start, they return directly to their own people and the neighbouring lands, like the Eranian heroic legend, which after relating that Thraêtona divided the world among his three sons, keeps to the fate of the Eranians, the descendants of Erag, one of the three. Nowhere is found a survey of the connection of nations that can be compared with the ethnological table of the Bible, nowhere one so universal in proportion to its horizon, and so all-comprising, at least with regard to its purpose. For the idea of the people of God implies that they have to regard all nations as future partakers with them of the same salvation, and to embrace them with an interest of hopeful love unheard of elsewhere in the ancient world. The invisible foliage of hope is entwined round the dry branches of this register of nations, the hope that the widely diverging paths of the nations will at last meet at a goal appointed by the God of revelation. It is just here, where the history of redemption is, in consequence of the

[1] See Dümichen, *Flotte einer ægyptischen Königin aus dem 17 Jahrh. vor unserer Zeitrechnung*, 1868 ; and H. Brandes, *Ueber die geographischen Kenntnisse der alten Ægypter*, 1870.

blessing promised to Shem, on the road to the origin of that nation to which it is specially devoted, that this universal survey serves as a significant finger-post to direct attention to the fact that the limitation of salvation is but a means to its future unlimited freedom.

The survey is not indeed absolutely universal; the purpose and the execution do not quite coincide, the latter finding its limitation in the very limited state of the geographical knowledge of the period. If, with Blumenbach, we reckon five races, the Caucasian, Mongolian, Malayan, American, and Ethiopian, the nations in this genealogy do not extend beyond the Caucasian race, the inhabitants of the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea and as far eastwards as Central Asia. The הֹדּוּ, Indians (Esth. i. 1), and סִינִים, Chinese (Isa. xlix. 12), are omitted, Ethiopia (כּוּשׁ, also Egyptian *kas*) is brought forward, but the Negroes (Ægypt. *neḥesu*) are left out of consideration. Nor do we get any information considering the origin of the Amalekites, nor of the Rephaim, Emim, Zûzim and the original inhabitants of Palestine in general, although they did not lie beyond the horizon of the author; for it is not the manner of the spirit of revelation to advance one whom it makes its instrument to a knowledge of things natural beyond the measure of what was at the time possible. The silence of the document concerning the descent of these nations, and especially of the Palestinian aborigines, might seem to favour the polygenistic theory. But the tendency of the document is decidedly opposed to it. It starts from the assumption of the single origin of the human race, and seeks to show how, after the Deluge had almost entirely extirpated mankind, the new population of the earth proceeded entirely from the one family of Noah. The races of man are in fact not different species of one genus, but different varieties of one species, as testified by the congruence of physiological and pathological phenomena in all men, by identity of anatomical structure, mental powers and features, by the same duration of life, by equal liability to sicknesses, by the same normal temperature

of body and the same average pulse, the same form of spermatozoa, the same period of gestation, and by unlimited fertility in the intermixture of all races. But this specific identity of natural constitution does not suffice to prove historic unity of origin. We believe in this historic unity on the ground of Scripture testimony, but are not in a condition to prove it. The formation of races lies absolutely beyond the power of our historic knowledge. We can point to the intermingling of existing races, but not to the origin of these races themselves, whose characteristic distinctions extend beyond colour and hair to even the formation of the skeleton, especially of the skull. But polygenism puts no solution in the place of the enigma. The descent of man from the anthropoid apes is and remains a fantastic *salto mortale*, and the assumption that this development has been repeated in parts of the earth most remote from each other, demands from us belief in a miracle of chance which is without parallel.

In this ethnological table the three sons of Noah follow each other, not according to their births: Shem, Japheth, Ham, nor according to the usual formula: Shem, Ham, Japheth, but Japheth and Ham precede, and Shem comes last. The reason for this is not, that of the two sons who received a blessing, one might begin, the other close the register, but that it is the method pursued in Genesis, first to get rid of the collateral lines, in order afterwards to go on with the main line without interruption. Ham comes after Japheth not merely because he is the younger, but because through Canaan, Mizraim and Cush he borders more closely on Israel than Japheth does,—for even within the three groups of nations the influence of this favourite progress from the more distant to the nearer prevails.

The view that the three sons of Noah represent three groups of nations distinguished by the colour of the skin, as the Egyptians divide the nations into copper-coloured, yellow, black and light-coloured (see Geo. Ebers. in *DMZ.* xxxi. 449), obtains a support only in the name חָם. Ham is

the ancestor of the nations of the southern zone, and his name might thus designate the dark-coloured, though, according to the usage of the language, חַם means hot and חוּם black (according to Eupolemus, χούμ = Greek ἄσβολος, soot, which cannot be proved). But if we go on and explain יֶפֶת (from יפה) as the white, and שֵׁם, by comparing שָׁנִי, deep red, as the red (Hitzig in *DMZ.* ix. 748), we shall only lose our way in barren hypotheses. But neither are languages the grounds of division in this register of nations. How inadmissible it is to divide languages, according to the three groups of nations, into Japhethic, Hamitic and Semitic, has been already shown by Joh. Geo. Müller in his works: *Who are the Semites?* 1860, and *The Semites in their Relation to Hamites and Japhethites*, 1872. In fact the Hebrew is, as שִׂפַת כנען (Isa. xix. 18), a Hamitic language. "The dissemination and intermixture of nations," says Lepsius in his Nubian Grammar (comp. also Ebers in *DMZ.* xxxv. 209), "goes its way, and that of languages, though continually conditioned by the former, its often quite different way. Languages are not the individual production of nations and the direct expressions of their spirit; they often dissociate themselves from their originators, pass over to foreign nations and races, or die out, while their former vehicles live on, speaking quite other languages—in short, they live a more or less independent life, which therefore may and should be investigated independently of the ethnological substratum to which it has adhered." Hence we cannot without further proof infer similar or kindred languages from kindred genealogies. The author of the ethnological table is fully conscious of variety of languages within the three groups, and brings this forward in the case of each, vv. 5, 20, 31. Hence the three groups are not formed according to community of language, but rather according to community of geographical position. Certainly the geographical point of view has a determining influence within the three groups, but it is only the case in a general manner that Japheth comprises the northern, Ham the southern, and

Shem the central countries; Canaan the Hamite *e.g.* dwells in the central, not the southern region. The historical point of view must therefore be added to the geographical—the external and internal arrangement of the groups reproduces traditional racial relations, and has already received such brilliant confirmation from continued historical and monumental investigations, that H. Rawlinson is fully justified in regarding this table as "the most authentic record that we possess for the affiliation of nations."

These remarks apply to the ethnological table on the whole, without analysis making any difference. It has hitherto been agreed, that from the Elohistic table, introduced by the title ואלה תולדת בני־נח, the passage about Nimrod and the Babylonio-Assyrian kingdom, x. 8–12, must be separated as Jahvistic. Proceeding on this basis, it has been further shown that the entire Elohistic table is interwoven with extracts from a Jahvistic one, amongst whose characteristics of style are ילד (instead of הוליד), נָפִין (instead of נִפְרַד), בְּאָבָה as a statement of direction, and the opening וּלְעֵבֶר יֻלַּד, וּלְשֵׁם יֻלַּד (instead of בְּנֵי שֵׁם, etc.), and whose manner of introduction may be perceived from ix. 18*a*, 19. The severance of the two constituent parts, as carried out by Wellhausen (*Jahrb.* xxi. (1876) pp. 395–397) and Dillmann, with the concurrence of Kuenen, is convincing, except in certain unimportant particulars, concerning which opinion is but conjecture. The Elohistic ethnological table is complete, and is composed of the following portions, vv. 1–5 (Japheth), 6–7, 20 (Ham), 22–23, 31 (Shem), 32 (conclusion). The Jahvistic extracts furnish nothing concerning Japheth; they contained nothing that commended itself to the redactor of Genesis for independent insertion; vv. 8–19 (Hamites without the original commencement), 21, 25–30 (Shemites apparently complete), are certainly from *JE.* Ver. 24 is a parenthesis of the redactor (from xi. 12, 14); so, according to Dillmann, but with questionable correctness, is ver. 9. Whether the relative clause in ver. 14, אשר יצאו משם פלשתים, is original or of subsequent insertion, is

questionable. The discrepant statements concerning the descent of חֲוִילָה and שְׁבָא, ver. 7 (Eloh.), and ver. 28 sq. (Jahv.), were allowed to remain by the redactor without his finding in them any irreconcilable contradiction.

The catalogue contains in its Elohistic portion thirty-four names, and in its Jahvistic thirty-six in addition to these, if Nimrod is left out of account, and the Cushite and Joktanite, שבא and חוילה, counted as each two, hence seventy in all. If the Elohistic catalogue gave this number, we might regard it as designed. But whether the whole in its final form was fashioned with such an end in view is uncertain. The Jewish notion that the nations of the world were divided into שבעים אומות,[1] is hardly as old as the composition of Genesis. For even supposing that this took place at the time of the exile or the restoration, this would be an ancient time, to which the Haggadah in the Talmud, Midrash and Targum does not reach back.

The traditions themselves which are interwoven in the table from at least two sources certify their hoar antiquity. Da Goeje, who in a Dutch article on the tenth chapter of Genesis (1870) sought to prove that it was an ethnographic reflection of the last years of Cyrus or the first of Cambyses, comes a great deal too far down. If it had not been drawn up till so late a date, we should find Tyre, צֹר, which after the times of David and Solomon began to surpass Sidon, and Persia (פָּרַס, פָּרְסִיא), which after Cyrus attained to world-wide importance, mentioned. It is also worthy of remark that the Arabian name (עֲרַב, עֲרָבִים, עַרְבִיאִים), and מִנִּי, mentioned Jer. li. 27, between Ararat and Ašhkenaz, do not occur. The fact that Amalek and the aborigines of Palestine, who had at the time vacated the stage of history, are left out of account, does not lead down later than the earlier kings. If we compare such tableaux of the nations as are

[1] It is found in the Targ. Jer. on Gen. xi. 8 (שׁוּבְעִין עַמְמַיָּא) and elsewhere. The seventy languages in the Talmudic Halachah, *Sanhedrin* 17*a*, *Sota* vii. 5, correspond with it.

given, Jer. xxv., Ezek. xxvii. and xxxii. 17 sqq., Gen. x. gives us an impression of independence and high antiquity. From Ezek. xxvii. however (the mart of Tyre) it is far more probable that the Phœnicians (Ew. Tuch, Kn. Kiepert, Dillmann) rather than the Egyptians (so *e.g.* Ritter in his *Gesch. der Erdkunde*, 1861) were the medium of the ethnology here preserved. Egyptian ethnology did not extend so far north nor so near to Arabia as Dillm., after Chabas, remarks.

The first expositor of the ethnological table is Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. He is the authority of Jerome in his *Quæstiones Hebraicæ*, which in their turn have been copied by Isidorus, *Etym.* ix. 2. 1–39. Other ancient Greek and Latin surveys of nations and countries fall back, with reference to the ethnological table, partly upon Hippolytus of Portus, partly upon the Chronicle of Julius Africanus. The knowledge of countries in all these labours, from Josephus onwards, is, as Müllenhoff has shown in his work on the map of the world and chorography of the Emperor Augustus, 1856, derived from the wall-map of the *orbis terrarum*, prepared by Agrippa at the command of this emperor, exposed to view in the Portico of the Polla and multiplied in various manners, and which also shows itself to be the original and model of the rough and scanty maps of the Middle Ages. Samuel Bochart's[1] *Phaleg et Canaan*, 1646, is a repertorium of Scripture geography not yet quite antiquated; the first four vols. of this work (*Phaleg*) treat *de divisione gentium*, and explain the ethnographical table from the narratives of antiquity. Further stages of continued investigation are marked by J. D. Michaelis' *Spicilegium geographiæ Hebræorum exteræ* (2 pts. 1769, 1780, 4); Knobel's work, *Die Völkertafel der Genesis*, 1850; Kiepert's article on the geographical position of the northern countries in the *phönikisch-hebräischen Urkunde*, 1859; de Lagarde's discussion of the names in the ethnographical table in *Ges. Abhandlungen*, 1866; that of Friedr. Delitzsch in *Wo lag das Paradies?* 1881, p. 244 sqq.; Dill-

[1] See his biography by Ed. Reuss in the *Revue théologique*, 1854, pp. 129–156.

mann's exposition of the ethnographical table in his new edition of Knobel's revised *Commentary on Genesis*, 1882, 86; that of Schrader in the 2nd ed. of his *Die Keilinschriften und der A. T.* 1883; Ed. Meyer's *Gesch. des Altertums*, vol. i. (containing the history of the East down to the foundation of the Persian monarchy) 1884, and also the ethnographic articles in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des bibl. Altertums*, and the *Calwer Bibellexikon*, edited by P. Zeller.

THE ETHNOGRAPHICAL TABLE, OR THE THREE GROUPS OF THE NOACHIDÆ, CH. X.

(Parallel with 1 Chron. i. 4–28.)

Title and connection, ver. 1: *And these are the Toledoth of the sons of Noah; Shem, Ham and Jepheth: and to them were sons born after the flood.* The connection by a consecutive impf. is striking; it cannot be denied that 1*a* has the appearance of having originally stood after ix. 19*a*.

First part: the Japhethites, v. 2–5: *Sons of Jepheth are Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan and Tubal and Mešech and Tiras. And sons of Gomer are Aškenaz and Riphath and Togarmah. And sons of Javan; Elišah and Taršiš, Kittim and Dodanim. From these the islands of the nations separated themselves in their lands; each according to his language, according to their families, after each of their nations.* The enumeration of the Japhethites begins from the far north. For by Japheth's first son, גֹּמֶר, is meant the Κιμμέριοι (Κιμέριοι), who, according to Homer, *Od.* xi. 14, dwell in sunless obscurity. The north was esteemed by the ancients as the region without light or warmth, hence *Cimmeriæ tenebræ* has ever been a proverbial expression for profound darkness. The ethnology of the ancients did not reach very far northwards; the Kimmerians lay north of the Pontus Euxinus and the Mæotis (sea of Azov), and west of the Tanais (Don); the name Krim (قِرِم), which was afterwards given to the Tauric Chersonesus, is a "memorial of the

Kimmerians in the subsequent Scythia" (Herod. iv. 12), which has remained to the present day. For the Kimmerians were driven from these their settlements on the northern coast of the Black Sea by the Scythians, they then passed over the Tyras (Dnjestr), and farther over the Danube into Thrace. Thence about 700 B.C., in conjunction with the Thracians, they invaded Asia Minor, overran Lydia about 650, and then attacked the Greek cities of the coast until the Lydian king Alyattes succeeded in driving them out of Asia (Herod. i. 16). It was with the Kimmerians, who had returned from Thrace, that Asarhaddon came in collision about 675 and gained, in alliance with Asurbanipal, a great victory over the Gyges of Lydia about 662 (see Ed. Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 546)—the גֹּמֶר mentioned by Ezek. xxviii. 6 as confederates of Gog, Assyr. *Gimir* with the *gentil. Gimarâa* (according to another reading *Gimirai*). The Armenians call the Cappadocians *Gamirkh* (Moses Chor. ii. 80, where Cæsarea of Cappadocia is designated as situate in the land of Gamirkh), and Josephus thinks that Γομαρεῖς is the ancient name of the Galatians—both assertions being occasioned by the victorious Asiatic expeditions of the Kimmerians. Nothing certain can be said respecting their national character and language. Ed. Meyer regards the latter as well as that of the Scythians as Iranian. Greek authors already identified the Kimmerians with the Cimbri (Diod. Sic. v. 32; Strabo, vii. 2. 2 sq.), after whom the British district Wales is called Cambria. But the Cimbri are a Celtic race, which has not yet died out,[1] while the Kimmerians have disappeared and left no trace behind except a few geographical names.[2] We now proceed to the three sons of Gomer. The

[1] See Sattler's introduction to his Grammar of the Kymræg (Kelto-Welsh), 1886, in which the גמר of the table is explained as by us; and it is at the same time remarked, that the Kymry themselves like to designate their language as Gomeræg. Hence Sattler gives his Grammar the title, *y Gomerydd* (Gomeric Tutor).

[2] The spreading of the Kimmerians as far as Thesprotia (in Epirus) and Campania is in itself uncertain; see de Belloguet, *Ethnogénie gauloise*, ed. Maury, 1875, and at the end of this commentary the Excursus on an enigmatical monument in the catacombs of Naples.

first is אַשְׁכְּנַז, the ancestor of the population, settled on the Propontis, of Phrygia (where is the Ascanian lake near Kelänä), Bithynia (where is the Ascanian lake near Nicæa, and an *Ascanium flumen*, Pliny, *H. N.* v. 40) and Mysia. Ascanios is in Homer the name of a Phrygian, and elsewhere of a Mysian hero (see Strabo, xii. 4. 5; comp. xiv. 5. 29). We also meet with the Ascanian name as that of a Phrygian district (Plin. v. 40), as the name of islands (*ib.* v. 38, iv. 23), as the name of a harbour in Æolian Moesia (*ib.* v. 32). We are not able to say: the Ascanians are the Phrygians (Ed. Meyer, p. 300); still their being named after אֲרָרַט and מִנִּי, Jer. lii. 27, certainly leads from Western Armenia to Phrygia rather than to Bithynia and Mysia.[1] Lagarde (*Gesammelte Abh.* p. 254) calls attention to the fact, that Aškên is an Armenian proper name, and *az* an Armenian patronymic termination. The Talmud and Targums vaguely explain אשכנז by אסיא. Mediæval Jewish tradition however gives this name to Germany. Knobel really thinks that the German tribe that came from Asia is so called as an Ask-race, in opposition to which Jak. Grimm (*Gesch. der deutschen Sprache*, p. 572, 2nd ed.) compares the German tribal legend of Mannus and his three sons, Iscus (*Ask*, *Ἀσκάνιος*), Ingus and Hermino. — The second son of Gomer is רִיפַת (LXX. Sixt. *ριφαθ*, *AB* *ερειφαθ*). The most obvious comparison is with the *Ριπαῖοι* (*Ριπαιεῖς*), the inhabitants of the *Ριπαῖα* (*Ρίπαια*) *ὄρη*; but what mountain chain it was that was transposed by the ancients to the shore of the northern ocean, the ancient geographers themselves are unable to tell us with any certainty. According to Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 24, the Tanaics (Don) comes down thence; the Carpathians are by no means so called (Kn.), we have rather to think of the Ural (Schafarik)—thus the situation is left in obscurity. Lagarde and Dillm. therefore prefer to compare the Bithynian district *Ρηβαντία* on the Thracian Bosphorus (Straits of Constanti-

[1] Asarhaddon names among the allies of the land of *Mannâa* (מָנִי), the land of *Ašgûza*; see Friedr. Delitzsch on Baer's *Daniel*, p. ix.

nople, which unite the Propontis and Pontus); but this derives its name from the little river *Pῆβας* (*Pῆσος*) on which it lies, and not from a tribe who settled in it. The Masoretic reading, 1 Chron. i. 6, is דִּיפַת, which gives us no further assistance.—The third son of Gomer is תֹּגַרְמָה; the people descending from him is called בֵּית תּוֹגַרְמָה, Ezek. xxvii. 14, where they are named after Javan, Tubal and Meshech as bringing horses and mules to the mart of Tyre; and xxxviii. 6, where it appears after Gomer as a component of the army of Gog. The Armenians regarded Thorgom, the father of Haik, as their ancestor;[1] and even granting that the form of the name *Thorgom* was occasioned by *Θοργαμά* (with *Θογαρμά*) of the LXX. (Lagarde and Nöldeke in *DMZ.* xxxiii. 324), still the Armenian tradition is confirmed by *Tilgarimmu* being in the cuneiform inscriptions the name of a fortified town in the subsequent district of Melitene, on the south-western boundary of Armenia (*Paradies*, p. 246). Apart from this, we are led to Western Armenia for תגרמה in distinction from מִנִּי and אֲרָרָט. Whether the form *Tilgarimmu* instead of *Togorimmu* depends upon Assyrian assimilation, or is the original one, must be left unsettled, as must also the question whether the name of the Thessalian *Ἄρμενος* (Arm. *Armenak*, son of Haik),[2] which, according to Strabo, xi. 4. 8, gave its name to the land of Armenia, is concealed in the *Armah* of Togarmah. Armenos is the name of a town in Thessaly, and also of one in Phrygia; and the modern Pindusvlachi, the descendants of the Macedono-Thracian tribes, still call themselves *Armeng*—the Armenians, like the Phrygians, having really settled in Europe before they did so in Asia.

The second son of Japheth is מָגוֹג. The name, besides here and 1 Chron. i. 5, occurs only Ezek. xxxviii. 2 and xxxix. 6. The land of Gog, the ruler over Rosh, Meshech and Tubal, in

[1] But the Armenian says: I am *Hai* (a descendant of *Haik*), we are *Haikh* (plur.); the country is called Haiastan. They do not call themselves after Thorgom.

[2] The pedigree is: Japheth, Gamer, Tiras, Thorgom, Haik, Armenak (Moses v. Chorene, i. 5.)

whose army, with which he invades the Holy Land, are found among other nations, Gomer and Beth-Togarmah, is there called by this name (xxxviii. 6). How the prefix *ma* in מגוג is related to גוג (comp. the name *Γύγης* and Gâgu of the cuneiform inscriptions, *Paradies*, p. 247) is as hard to say as how *Masis* (Great Ararat) is related to *Sis* (Little Ararat), *Μακετία* to כתים (1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5), *Μασσαγέται* to *Γέται*, and the like. Mordtmann, in his attempt to decipher the Armenian cuneiform inscriptions, thinks he there finds the meaning country for *ma* (*DMZ.* xxvi. 661). But however this may be, מגוג shows itself to be, as already stated by Josephus and Jerome, and as since Bochart universally accepted,[1] a Hebrew common noun for that many-branched nomadic nation of northern Asia, called by the Persians Saka (*Σάκαι*), and by the Greeks Scythians. Their irruption into Hither Asia, in which they also made inroads into Palestine and threatened Egypt, is related by Herodotus, i. 103–106, and was very probably the model of that picture of the future sketched by Ezekiel in chs. xxxviii. and xxxix. (Dillm., Ed. Meyer, § 464). Whether the name Gog is connected with the dialectic form of the Persian *kuh*, mountain-chain, which in the mouth of Caucasian races is of like pronunciation, must be left unsettled. Bergmann (*Les Scythes*, 1858) remarks that the Caucasian population of Thiulet call the high northern mountain chain *ma-ghöv* (*ma-gogh*), and the nearer and lower *göv* (*gogh*). The table does not enter into the genealogical ramification of Magog.

The third son of Japhet is מָדַי. This is the name of the people, and then of the land of the Medes, in the cuneiform inscriptions *mât Maddâa*, with the settled epithet of the distant (*rukuti*), *Paradies*, p. 247, according to which the name seems to have originally adhered to the north-eastern country with the capital Rhaga (Rhagæ). In extra-Pentateuchal literature, מדי first appears in the book of Kings, in Jeremiah, and in

[1] Nordtmann, above, forms an exception. By מגוג he understands Armenia, and by תגרמה, Thorgenland = country of the Turks, *DMZ.* xxvi. 622.

2 Isaiah, and פָּרַס, Persia, first in Ezekiel; Esther and Daniel name פָּרַס וּמָדַי together.

The fourth son of Japheth is יָוָן, the people and land of the Ionians (Ἴαονες, Ἰάϝονες), on the coast of Asia Minor west of Karia and Lydia. They were the earliest developed portion of the Greek nation (Ernst Curtius, *Ueber die Ionier vor der ionischen Wanderung*, 1885). In these Ionians, who were pirates, and carried on a slave trade (*Annalen Sargons*, xxi.; Joel iii. 6; Ezek. xxvii. 13), the Greek people first entered within the horizon of the Phœnicians, Assyrians, and Israelites. Subsequently (Zech. ix. 13 and in the book of Daniel) Javan became throughout the East, as far as India, the collective name *per synecdochen* of the Greeks (see Stade, *De populo Javan*, 1880).

The fifth and sixth sons of Japheth are תֻּבַל וּמֶשֶׁךְ (LXX. Θωβὲλ καὶ Μοσόχ), the Moschi and Tibareni, as settled since Bochart. They are also paired in Herodotus (iii. 94, vii. 78), and four times in Ezekiel. The Tibareni dwelt east of Thermodon in Pontus, the Moschi between the sources of the Phasis and Cyrus. The cuneiform histories of the wars show however that both peoples originally settled farther southwards, in about an even line with Cilicia (see Schrader, *KAT*^{2}, 82–84, and Friedr. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 250 sq.).

The seventh son of Japheth is תִּירָס. It would be very convenient to understand by this the Thracians, whom Herodotus (v. 3) calls the greatest nation after the Indians; but the name is phonetically too far removed from תירס. The name of the Tyrseni (Tyrrheni), which Nöld. and Dillm. here understand, corresponds in sound. This is the name of the Etrurians, who are regarded as Pelasgi, but their immigration from Lydia (Strabo, v. 219) is only a legend without foundation. It seems to me more probable that the people of the country north-west of the Pontus Euxinus, through which the Tyras (Dnjestr) flows, *i.e.* the Tyragetæ or Scythians dwelling on the Tyras, are intended. It was among those Scythians of the district of the Tyras that

Herodotus found customs similar to those of the Thracians (iv. 104), the remains of whose language, *e.g.* *βρίζα*, plant, Sanscrit *vrihi*, point to an Aryan origin (Fliegier, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie Kleinasiens*, 1875, pp. 5–12).

We have taken the sons of Gomer together with himself, the sons of Javan follow in ver. 4. The first is אֱלִישָׁה. Eleusis (*Ἐλευσίς*) is out of question, being no country or race, but a town. Hellas (*Ἑλλάς*) would be welcome in this enumeration, if it might be understood of *ἡ μεγάλη Ἑλλάς*, Magna Græcia, *i.e.* Lower Italy. The west Peloponnesian land of Elis (*Ἦλις*) is nearer in sound, and it is a curious chance that a river *Ἔλισα* (*Ἑλισσα*) should flow through it. According to this, the purple brought to the market of Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 7) would be Peloponnesio-Laconian (Herzog-Plitts, *RE.* iv. 490). But the purple with which Tyre adorned herself came from מֵאִיֵּי אֱלִישָׁה, and hence the ancient view (Joseph. Jer.), that אלישה means the Æolians (*Αἰολεῖς*); and the Elisa-islands, *αἱ Αἰολίδες* (*νῆσοι*), remains the most probable, although this Hebraizing of the name, with the inclusion of the nominative termination—*εῖς*, is abnormal. Javan's second son is תַּרְשִׁישׁ. As abnormal as אלישה = *Αἰολεῖς* would be תַּרְשִׁישׁ = *Τυρσηνοί* (*Τυῤῥηνοί*), the name of the Etruscans, who according to Dionys. Halic. i. 30 and inscriptions, called themselves *Ρασέναι*. This is the opinion of Knobel, though he does not deny that תַּרְשִׁישׁ is elsewhere Tartessus, the capital of Tartessis or Tartessia on the Tartessus = Bætis = Guadalquivir, a Spanish province abounding in tin and silver. Here however, where Tarshish is called a son of Javan, we must remember that before the Phœnicians took advantage of the mines of Tartessus, Phokæans from the Hellenic land of Phokis had settled there (Herod. i. 168). Tarsus in Cilicia is out of question; it arose long after the period which the table represents, and is written תרז upon coins and inscriptions.[1] כִּתִּים is named in the third place

[1] That Tarshish lies far westward is shown by the flight of Jonah when he had been directed to go to Nineveh (Jonah i. 3); and that the journey to

among the descendants of Javan. These are the Cypriotes, the inhabitants of the island of Cyprus, situated near the Palestino-Syrian coast of the Mediterranean, with *Κίτιον* its chief town. This island is called יתנ (אתנ) in Assyrian and native inscriptions. It is by no means Cyprus as colonized by the Phœnicians that is here intended by the genealogist, but whether Hellenic or Carian pre-Hellenic Cyprus cannot be decided. In the fourth place are mentioned as descendants of Javan הֹדָנִים. The reading רֹדָנִים, 1 Chron. i. 7, in accordance with which Dillm. understands the inhabitants of Rhodes and of the islands of the Ægean Sea generally, is as little to be relied on as דִיפַת for רִיפַת, which we noticed at ver. 3. Following the Targ. Jer. we regard הֹדָנִים as softened from דַּרְדָּנִים, the name of the race, Illyrian according to Strabo and Appian, Thracian according to Dio Cassius, inhabiting the Trojan district of *Δαρδανία*—not Dodoni, for though *Δωδώνη* or *Δωδωνία* occurs in Æschylus, *Prom.* 828, and Skylax, as the name of the province in which lay upon a projecting hill of the valley of Tsharakovista an ancient oracle discovered by Carapanos, it has not given a name to any race of people. The text of the concluding formula requires some insertion which is missing (Ew. Dillm.), since what ver. 5 says partly of the בני יון, is partly meant of all the בני יפת: *From these the isles of the nations separated themselves.* [*This did the sons of Jepheth*] *after their lands, each according to his language, according to their families, after their nations.* The separation נפרד is meant of severance from the common stock for the formation of independent powers, and indeed of maritime powers, אִיֵּי הַגּוֹיִם being everywhere in the Old Testament the European insular world. Hence מֵאֵלֶּה can only refer to the בני יון; while on the other hand everything from בְּאַרְצֹתָם onwards refers to all the Japhethites, as ver. 20 does to all the Hamites, and ver. 31 to all the Semites.

Second part: the Hamites, vv. 6–20. If the name חָם has

Tarshish was regarded as a voyage on the open sea, is shown in the translation of אניות תרשיש by *πλοῖα θαλάσσης*, by LXX. and Jerome.

a meaning alluding to the Hamitic nations, it points to the south tropical zone of which they are natives. *Chemi*, the ancient name by which the Egyptians called their country (the mother country of *chemistry*, *i.e.* the art of discovering the philosopher's stone *kîmîja*, *DMZ.* xxx. 11, xxxvi. 534 sqq.), a name which, according to Plutarch (*de Iside et Osir.* c. 33), means the pupil of the eye as well as the land of the Nile, so called because of the strikingly dark ashy colour given it by the deposition of the mud of the Nile, is entirely out of question. The appellation אֶרֶץ חָם, Ps. cv. 23, 27, cvi. 22, may be an allusion to it. The Hamites, registered by *Q*, form the commencement in vv. 6 and 7: *And sons of Ham: Cuš and Mizraim and Phut and Canaan. And sons of Cuš: Seba and Ḥavilah and Sabtah and Raʿmah and Sabteca. And sons of Raʿmah: Sheba and Dedân.*

Ham's first son is כּוּשׁ. This is the name of the people dwelling south of Egypt, in Nubia towards Abyssinia, and called Ethiopians in the narrower sense; for *Αἰθίοπες* in general are all sun-burnt, *i.e.* dark-skinned people. They are the nation to whom belonged the priest-state Meroë, the Nûba kingdom in the time of the Ptolemies, and also the Axumitic kingdom with its capital Axum in Tigre (see Dillmann, *Anfänge des axum. Reiches*, 1879). In Egyptian *Kaš* or *Keš* (often with the epithet *χest*, the miserable) is from the monuments of the 12th Dynasty onwards the name of all dark southern nations; this frequently interchanges with *Nehesu*, the special name of the negroes. The vocalization *Kûš* is also usual in the Achæmenidean inscriptions. It must not be assumed that the Asiatic Cossæi, on cuneiform inscriptions *Kaššu*, a people dwelling in the Zagros mountains between Babylonia and Media, who for a long period maintained a supremacy over Babylon, stand in a secondary relation to the African Cushites. The view that at ii. 13, x. 8, the Asiatic Cossæa is to be understood, and that this is mistakenly confounded with the African Cush (Schr. *Homm.*; comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, 1884,

p. 61), imputes to the Bible, without adducing any proof, a most improbable confusion.

Ham's second son is מִצְרַיִם, the name of the country which reaches, according to Ezek. xxix. 10, xxx. 6, from the north-eastern fort of Migdol to the cataract and border town Syene (*Asuân*), near the Cushite boundary. The dual does not refer to the two mountain chains (the Arabian and Libyan) which bound the valley of the Nile, but to the two halves into which the country was not only politically, but also physically divided, to Upper and Lower Egypt, whence the Pharaonic kings were called lords of the upper and lower countries, or of the two countries. The dual is based upon a chief form מֵצַר (for which we have מָצוֹר, Isa. xix. 6, xxxvii. 25; Micah vii. 12); this cannot be the native name of Egypt, for מֵצַר or מָצוֹר (corresponding with the two Assyrian names *Miṣir* and *Muṣur* of the cuneiform inscription, *Paradies*, p. 308 sqq.) is a Semitic word for enclosure or fortification; and we still favour Ebers' view, that first of all it was Lower Egypt that was so called, as a country protected on the east by a long girdle of fortresses from Pelusium to the Klysma. This name was subsequently dualized with an obliteration of its fundamental meaning, yet with so strong an after effect of its original impress of Lower Egypt, that Upper Egypt is specially named along with מצרים, Isa. xi. 11; Jer. xliv. 15.

Ham's third son, פוּט, gives a name to the people who beside here and the parallel passage in Chronicles are also mentioned by Nahum (iii. 9), Jeremiah (xlvi. 9) and Ezekiel (xxvii. 10, xxx. 5, xxxviii. 5). The name has no reference to the ancient Egyptian word for a bow, *phet* (*pet*), and the group of nine tribes denoted by nine bows (*Zeitschr. für æg. Sprache u. Altertumskunde*, 1865, p. 25). Nor does the Egyptian name *Punt*, as a name of Arabia (Ebers), answer; for that Arabia furnished mercenary troops to the Egyptian army, Nah. iii. 9, Jer. xlvi. 9, Ezek. xxx. 5, is unknown and improbable; besides, *Punt*, whither the naval expedition,

with which Dumichen has made us acquainted, steered, is the land of frankincense lying east of Egypt (the Somâli coast, with the south coast of Arabia opposite it). *Φούτης* is, according to Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6. 2, the founder of Libya, whose inhabitants, he tells us, are called *Φοῦτοι*; he further remarks, as Jerome copies from him: *Mauritaniæ fluvius usque in præsens Phut dicitur omnisque circa eum regio Phutensis.* This river is also witnessed to by Ptolemy (iv. 1, 3: *Φθούθ*) and Pliny (v. 1, § 13: *Fut*), and it agrees with the statements of Josephus, that *Phaiat* (interchanging with *Lubē*) is the Coptic name of Libya, and that the LXX. always reproduce פוט outside the ethnological table by *Λίβυες*. Nevertheless Nah. iii. 9 shows that פוט is not equivalent with לוּבִים; פוט is a district situated in Libya, and its name was used synecdochically for the whole of Libya.

The name of Ham's fourth son, כְּנַעַן, sounds as though it denoted a people of the low country, and a people inhabiting the low land on the Mediterranean coast between Rhinokolura and Berytus are actually so called, then also those in the low land on western Jordan, as far up as the lake of Gennesaret, and hence in a wider sense the land west of Jordan and its Phœnician population. The Phœnicians themselves called their eponymous hero, who was regarded as the brother of *Ὄσιρις* (*Ὑσιρις*) (Sanchoniathon in Eus. *Præp.* i. 10. 26), *Χνᾶ*, and themselves *Χνᾶοι*, or, as Augustine heard it from the mouths of Punic peasants, *Chanani.* Here in the table Canaan is the brother of Mizraim. Eupolemus too (in Eus. *Præp.* ix. 17) brings, according to a supposed Babylonian legend, *Χούμ*, *Μεσραείμ* and *Χαναάν* into genealogical connection. The people did not give themselves the name of Phœnicians, they were called *Φοίνικες*, as dwelling in a land of palm trees, for Europe received dates from Phœnicia (*Hermipp in Athen.* i. 49: *Φοινίκη παρέχει καρπὸν φοίνικος*); while, on the other hand, *Pœni* (*Puni*) may be connected with *φοίνιξ*, redness, and *φοινός*, red, and refer to the colour of the skin. The immigration of the Canaanites from the

Erythræan Sea[1] (*i.e.* the Indian Ocean, and especially the Persian Gulf), that home of the Hamitic nations, is testified to by Herodotus (i. 1, vii. 89), Strabo and Dionysius Perieg; Justin (xviii. 3) adds that after leaving their native place they first inhabited *Assyrium stagnum* (perhaps the marsh land on the Lower Euphrates) before turning towards the Mediterranean coasts and founding Sidon. The credibility of this testimony is acknowledged by Bertheau, Ew. Kn. Lassen, v. Gutschmid, Dillm. König (*Lehrgeb.* § 4). In vain has Movers (*Phœn.* ii. 38–60) cast a doubt upon it; Lepsius, in his Nubian Grammar, has shown the important connection with the history of civilisation in which this credibly attested fact stands (comp. *DMZ.* xxxv. 213–216). During their progress from east to west the Canaanites would find time and opportunity for appropriating the Semitic language. We have no right to charge the genealogical statements of the table with falsehood, and perhaps even to say, with Sprenger, in his Geography of Arabia, that it is the calumny of the compiler of this table which ascribed the Canaanites to the Hamitic race.

In ver. 7 follow the sons of Cush, and first סְבָא, LXX. Σαβά, Jerome, *Saba*. With Josephus the equation: Saba = Meroe (the name of which he dates from the time of Cambyses), is a self-evident matter (comp. *Ant.* i. 6. 2 with ii. 10. 2). Meroe is the capital of the ancient priest-state, which was temporarily governed by queens, upon the island enclosed by the Nile and its two branches, the Astapus (Blue Nile) and Astaboras (Atbara-Takazze), Diod. i. 33. Under Tirhakah, a

[1] The question whence the Indian Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Arabian Gulf, which Herodotus treats as a part of the great Red Sea, derive the name of Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα, is not yet decided. According to Ebers (*DMZ.* xxxv. 215), it is from the red-skinned *Puna* (the ancestral nation of the Phœnicians), who as Ἐρυθραῖοι gave the name to the sea. Wetzstein once told me that Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα was a translation resting upon a misunderstanding of بحر حعير, for so was properly called that part of the Indian Ocean which washes the southern coast of Arabia. There, probably in the mountain-land of Hadramaut, where there are two harvests in the year, was the proper starting-place of the nations of Semitic speech. Perhaps the Ehkili represents the relatively oldest form of the Semitic.

king of the Ethiopian (xxvi.) dynasty, Napata (inscr. *Nep.*) on the hill of Barkal became the centre of the Ethiopian ruling house, and near to this lay another Meroe (inscr. *Merua*), which Tirhakah had royally endowed. It is this Meroe, not the one situated to the south-east of it, which Herodotus means, ii. 29; he heard it called "the metropolis of the rest of the Ethiopians." That either one or the other Meroe bore the native name of Saba we are not indeed able to confirm. Hence it is possible that some other סבא in Nubia, lying farther eastward, received the name of the branch of the Ethiopian people here intended. Strabo, xvi. 8, names a Sabaitic ostiary and a port of Saba, and, xvi. 10, a considerable town, *Σαβαί*, which is however called *Σαβάτ* by Ptolemy, situated near Berenice.—Among the sons of Cush חֲוִילָה takes the second place. Having with סבא arrived at about Massaua, the tribe of the *Ἀβαλῖται* (*Αὐαλῖται*), on the *Αὐαλίτης κόλπος* (*sinus Abalitu*, Plin. vi. 34), in the town *Abala* (according to Juba in Plin. vi. 35), south of the straits of Bab-el-mandeb, offers itself for חוילה in close geographical sequence. It is an acknowledged fact (*DMZ.* xxxv. 213) that migrations and returns of Cushites and Arabians took place there and over the Arabian Gulf. Pliny (vi. 34) relates of Juba: *adcolas Nili a Syene non Æthiopum populos, sed Arabum esse dicit usque ad Meroen.* Thus the genealogical statement, ver. 29, does not stand in exclusive contradiction to the Elohistic statement here.—The third son of Cush: סַבְתָּא. This name leads us from the African coast to the south coast of Arabia, where the Chatromotitæ (Atramitæ), whose capital was *Σάββαθα* (*Σάββατα*, *Σάβατα*, *Sabota*), had settled far to the east of the Homeritæ. It lay according to Ptolemy eastward of the Sabæans (Himjarites), according to the Periplus, northward of the coast town Kane; Pliny says that it had sixty temples, and was a mart for frankincense. According to *DMZ.* xix. 252–255, it is the شَبْوَة, of Arabian geographers, the שבות of the Himjaritic inscriptions situate on the road from Hadramaut to Higâz.—The fourth son of Cush: רַעְמָה,

named together with שבא by Ezekiel (xxvii. 22) as bringing spices, precious stones and gold to the mart of Tyre, LXX. (in Gen. and Chron.) *Ῥέγμα*. Such is the name of a seaport town on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf; in Ptol. vi. 7. 14, *Ῥέγμα*, *Ῥέγαμα*; in Steph. Byz. *Ῥῆγμα*. The Hellenizing accords with רעמה, and the reason that the town at the boundary of Oman and Bahrein is now called رجام, may be that this is the Arabianized *Rhegma*. Dillm. however calls attention to a Sabæan רעמה authenticated on inscriptions by Halévy (*DMZ*. xxx. 122), with the situation of which, north of Marib, the *Ῥαμμανῖται* named by Strabo, xvi. 4. 24, agree. Unfortunately Strabo is the only witness to these Rammanitæ. —The fifth son of Cush: סַבְתְּכָא. To the present time there is nothing further known than what is said by Bochart, that the Ichthyophagi of the coast town *Σαμυδάκη* in Caramania, dwelling eastward of the Persian Gulf, are intended. There now follow two sons of Ra'ma: שְׁבָא וּדְדָן. In ver. 27 and xxv. 3, Arabian tribes of Semitic descent are so called; but there is no reason for denying a more ancient Cushite stock of one as of another Arabian commercial people. Wetzstein acknowledges the historical nature and consistency of both genealogical statements, and has even tried to show in Ex. c. i. to the 2nd ed. of my *Isaiah*, that the Sheba and Dedan who conducted the caravan transport between Egypt and Ethiopia on the one side, and the lands of Tigris and Euphrates on the other, were the Cushites, who as he thinks dwelt within the Troglodytice southwards from Berenice. We cannot indeed infer from the fact alone that the wares with which, according to Ezek. xxvii. 15, 20, comp. xxxviii. 13, they traded are especially Ethiopian articles of export, that they belonged to the Cushite race, but this fact does not exhaust the proof there furnished. Since however the explanation of Ra'ma by no means leads over Arabia backwards towards north-eastern Africa, it is improbable that the genealogist conceived of the two nations that sprung from

him as north-east African. The view of a Cushite foundation of their racial peculiarity seemed to him justified without such localization. The right place however to discuss these two peoples as Arabian will occur at ver. 28, xxv. 3.

The Elohistic register of the Hamites now receives its continuation in a Jahvistic extract, which even at the first glance is characterized as such by the Divine name יהוה being used just where we expect אלהים. The names of the Hamites so far have been names of nations; the Hamite of the extract, vv. 8–12, is a person of world-wide importance, vv. 8–10: *And Cush begat Nimrod, he began to be a mighty one on earth. He was a mighty hunter before Jahveh, therefore it is said: Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before Jahveh. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel and Erech and Accad and Calneh in the land of Shinar.* The Jahvistic pen is also manifested by ילד, instead of the more definite הוליד (*DMZ.* xxiii. 622 sq.). The name נִמְרֹד, besides here, occurs only Micah v. 5, where Assyria is called "the Land of Nimrod." The view of Oppert, that *Nimrodki* (*i.e.* Nimrod with the local determinative *ki*) was an ancient name of Elam, does not commend itself. Neither is Nimrod (LXX. *Νεβρώδ*) the personification of a country towards the sun (Sayce), but a hero in the flesh, though one encompassed with legends; the name, found apparently with the preformative *na*, has not yet been discovered in inscriptions. The name of the hero of the Babylonio-Assyrian national epos, who undoubtedly answers to the scriptural Nimrod, is commonly though not certainly read Izdubar. The conjecture that נמרד = *Nu-Marad*, the man (hero), from Marad, because the god whom Izdubar invokes above all others as his, is the god of the mid-Babylonian town Marad (*Paradies*, p. 220; *KAT.* 92 sq.), is interesting.[1] Nimrod's insertion here in the table rests,

[1] Another conjecture has been advanced by P. Haupt in his English notice of Friedr. Delitzsch's "Kossäer," viz. that in נמרד is involved the name of the Cossæan god of war and hunting, Maraddaš. The Arabians explain the name

according to Schrader and others, upon the confusion of the Egypto-Nubian *Keš*, כוּשׁ, with the Babylonian *Kaš* (*Kaššu*). But still more ancient than the Nubian כוּשׁ is the כוּשׁ settled on the Erythræan Sea, and especially the Persian Gulf, which thence peopled Southern Arabia and North-Eastern Africa, and everywhere disseminated a culture resembling the Egyptian, with which it also, as the Oannes-myth says, enriched Babylonia (see Lepsius' *Nubian Grammar*, and Geo. Ebers in *DMZ.* xxxv. 213–216). Hitherto it was even thought that the Ethiopian type could be recognised in the features of Izdubar (*Paradies*, note 22), while now he is placed as a Cossäean out of all connection with the Hamitic Cush. But there are circumstances enough, to warn us against any premature judgment, such *e.g.* as that it has not yet been possible to assign their ethnological place to the Cossäei, their language being neither Sumerian nor Elamite or Median (Friedr. Delitzsch, *Kossäer*, 1884); that two Babylonian provinces are called *Melucha* and *Makan*, which are elsewhere the names of Ethiopia and Egypt (*Paradies*, pp. 56, 129–131); that the Greek legend of Cepheus and Memnon brings into manifold mutual relations Africano-Ethiopian and Central-Asian matters.[1] Till further notice we adhere, with Ideler, Letronne, Lepsius, Brugsch, to the view that a connection exists between the oldest Babylonian and the oldest Egyptian civilisation. The authors of new industries are also introduced, iv. 20 sq., with הוּא הָיָה, and הוּא הֵחֵל recalls the new beginnings related iv. 26, ix. 20. The new tendency which arose with Nimrod was that of a גִּבּוֹר, *i.e.* of a man in power, who by courage, energy and terror keeps the surrounding country in subjection. He was in the first place a גִּבּוֹר־צַיִד, mighty in hunting (comp. יֹדֵעַ צַיִד, xxv. 27), a great hunter (צַיִד is a word which first appears Jer. xvi. 16). As the added לִפְנֵי יְהוָה is taken by גבר, the powerful, the bold, the stedfast; the noun-form would be like נַפְתּוּחַ and נַפְתֻּחִים.

[1] See Hellanikos in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χαλδαῖοι, and J. Löwenherz, *die Æthiopen der altklassischen Kunst*, 1861.

from the popular mouth—for anything proverbial is introduced by עַל־כֵּן יֵאָמֵר, like 1 Sam. x. 12 ; comp. Num. xxi. 27—it does not mean *contra Dominum*, as the Latin versions understand the *ἐναντίον* of the LXX.: in a manner hostile to and defiant of Jehovah, for which עַל־פְּנֵי (Isa. lxv. 3) would be expected rather than לִפְנֵי (Luke xv. 18, *ἐνώπιον*), nor, according to Jehovah's will and pleasure, which neither לִפְנֵי nor בְּעֵינֵי can by themselves signify, but it is an adjunct to גִּבּוֹר־צַיִד, which raises this to ideality (comp. לֵאלֹהִים, Jonah iii. 3, and τῷ Θεῷ, Acts vii. 20), or, like *e.g.* 1 Chron. xii. 22, makes it superlative (Perizon. Bochart, Rosenm. Kn. Dillm.). Jahveh Himself, the chief and infallible appraiser of all things, regarded him as a hunting hero, and did not know his equal on earth. It is not the hunting of men, but of beasts, the opposite of the peaceful shepherd life, that is intended. The constellation Orion (in the Bible כְּסִיל) is by astrologers called Algebar (Algebra) in the same sense. And because the hunting of animals is intended, the continuation וַתְּהִי רֵאשִׁית מַמְלַכְתּוֹ seems extraordinary, and suggests the view that ver. 9 is an insertion which destroys the connection existing when vv. 8 and 10 are combined, as by Dillmann. But it is just in the union of the passions for the chase and for war that Nimrod is the prototype of the Babylonio-Assyrian kings,—the native legend of Izdubar, the mighty hero of the chase and of war, who subdued the country from the Persian Gulf to the Armenian mountains, and raised himself so highly in the estimation of the gods, that Istar the sovereign of Warka desired, but in vain, to have him for her husband, is here divested of its mythological accessories and brought down to the plain prose of simple facts. What the narrative has in view is not the greatness of Nimrod as a hunter, but his importance as the founder of a state. The hunter without an equal was also the first monarch. Four towns, of which Babel is the first, were the רֵאשִׁית of his kingdom, which does not here, as in Jer. xxvi. 1, signify so much the temporal commencement as the

first component part, the primitive condition. The name of the country, שִׁנְעָר, occurs, besides Gen. x. xi. xiv., only Josh. vii. 21 (mantle from Shinar); Isa. xi. 11 (as a land of the dispersion); Zech. v. 11 (as a land of traders); Dan. i. 2 (as the land of Nebuchadnezzar). It is the same word as *šumêr* in the self-appellation of the Babylonian and also of the Assyrian kings, as "Kings of Sumêr and Accad," in which combination Sumêr means North and Accad South Babylonia. The form שִׁנְעָר answers to the native form *šungêr*, which interchanges with *šumêr*, as *dingêr*, god, does with *dimêr* (*Paradies*, 198). In its biblical use שנער has been generalized into the collective name of Babylonia (of the *'Irâḳ el-'arabi*, exclusive of Mesopotamia).[1] The first of the four towns, בָּבֶל, will be spoken of when we come to the separation of languages and nations. The situation of אֶרֶךְ, Gr. *'Ορχόη*, is shown by the South Babylonian ruins, *Warka*, on the left bank of the Euphrates. This Erech or *Uruk* (whence אַרְכְּוָיֵא, Ezra iv. 9, those of Erech, like Assurb. *Sm.* 250*o*: *arkaiti*, she of Erech, *i.e.* the Goddess Nana), Sumerian *Unug*, was in the Persian period the sacred necropolis of Chaldea. אַכַּד has till now been authenticated by the inscriptions only as the name of a province; as a town however it has been identified with Agadê, which together with Sipar formed the double town of Sepharvaim, north of Babel, on the left bank of the Euphrates (*Paradies*, 198). Dr. Herm. Hilprecht has now discovered Accad as also the name of a town in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I., first published by him in 1883. It is there said, *Col.* ii. z. 50: *Sin u Bêlit* alu *Ak-ka-di ilâni ša bît Ḫabban*, *i.e.* Sin and the mistress of the town Accad (*i.e.* the Goddess Anunitum, *i.e.* Istar as the morning star), the goddess of the house of Habban.[2] כַּלְנֵה here and Amos vi. 2

[1] Perhaps however this is the original geographical meaning. See Tiele, *Babylonisch-assyr. Gesch.* (1886) i. 72 sq.

[2] The Syriac wrongly reads ܐܟܪ, in accordance with which Ephrem regards this second town of Nimrod as Achar = Nisibis: the Nisibian dialect is also called the Acharian.

is not yet made certain by inscriptions (see on the writing, Baer's *Genesis*, p. 79, note, and *Duodecim*, p. 70); כַּלְנוֹ, Isa. x. 9, כַּנֵּה, Ezek. xxvii. 23, according to Targums ii. iii. Euseb. Jer. is Ktesiphon, north-east of Babylon on the left bank of the Tigris, which, according to Pliny, vi. 30, was founded by the Parthians in Chalonitis (*Χαλωνῖτις* with the town *Χάλα*, Isid. *mans. Parth.* 3), perhaps Kulunu on inscriptions (*Paradies*, 225). These four towns formed the foundation of Nimrod's kingdom, which did not however continue limited to Babylonia, but extended over Assyria, vv. 11, 12: *From the same land he went out towards Assur and built Nineveh and Rehoboth 'Îr and Kelach. And Resen between Nineveh and Kelach—this the great city.* Whether אַשּׁוּר, 11*a*, is the subject (LXX. Jos. Onk. Syr. Jer. Saad. Ven. Luth.) or a locative (Targ. ii.) is at present scarcely a question: it is equal to אַשּׁוּרָה (Tuch, By. Kn. Hofm. Dillm. and the Assyriologists), for ראשית ממלכתו, 10*a*, points in anticipation to the extension of the kingdom, and requires a single ruler; sufficient force is not given to the ראשית, if the four cities mean the fundamental commencement of the kingdom of Nimrod, as distinguished from another, not Nimrod's. Besides, tradition knows of Assur as the name of a nation, and not of a founder of a kingdom, and mythology knows it as the name of a specially Assyrian national deity foreign to the Babylonians (*Paradies*, pp. 252–254). To this must be added, that Micah calls Assyria ארץ נמרד (v. 5). Babylon is indeed the motherland of Assyria, Babylonian culture and power having advanced northwards towards Assyria, the country on the upper course of the Tigris. Assur was at first an offshoot of Babel, and did not till afterwards become an independent kingdom. It is intentionally that the narrator does not continue with וַיֵּצֵא, he means to bring forward what he is relating as a fresh start in which the Shinar foundation was carried on. In Hos. vii. 11 likewise we find אַשּׁוּר for אַשּׁוּרָה, and, Deut. xxviii. 68, מִצְרַיִם for מִצְרַיְמָה; the acc. of direction without *ah* is still more frequent than with *ah*.

The first of Nimrod's cities upon Assyrian soil is נִינְוֵה with *ê*, like סְוֵנֵה (comp. Dillm. *Æth. Gramm.* § 127*c*), but without the cause of this final sound being evident; LXX. writes *Νινευί* (for which we have classically *ἡ Νῖνος*), and on inscriptions the name reads as Ninâ or Ninua, compounded (if Sumerian) from *Ni* and *nâ*, which seems to mean place of rest (*Paradies*, 260), so that נינוה might have been Hebraized with reference to נָוֶה, נָוֵה. It is etymologically devoid of significance, that the name is written with the ideogram of the dwelling and therein the ideogram of the fish (Assyr. *nûn*)—this is writing after the manner of the rebus or logogriph.[1] The ruins of Nineveh are marked by the village Kujundshik on the left bank of the Tigris, opposite Mosul, north of the Chausar, which there empties itself into the Tigris, and by the hill *Nebi Jûnus*, situate south of the Chausar. Hence the town was cut through by the Chausar, the royal palaces lying on both its banks. The name of the second town, רְחֹבֹת עִיר, means the broad place of a town in which it issues, *i.e.* the suburb of the city proper, probably (*Parad.* 261) the north-eastern suburb of Nineveh, the *rêbît Ninâ* lying towards the mountains (Asarh. i. 53). We have more accurate information concerning the third city, כָּלַח, according to the inscriptions Calḫu, built by Shalmanassar I., and restored from its ruins by Asurnaṣirpal, situate in the sharp angle between the Tigris and the great Zab which flows into the Tigris, where now are found the village and hill of Nimrud. It differs from חֲלַח, 2 Kings xvii. 6 and 1 Chron. v. 26, the Assyrian settlement of Israelite exiles, and from חלך = Cilicia (*DMZ.* 1861, p. 626 sq.). Whether *Καλαχηνή*, the Assyrian province mentioned by Strabo, xvi. 1. 1, *Καλακινή* in Ptol. vi. 1. 2, is to be connected with כלח or with חלח, must be left undetermined. On the situation of the fourth city, רֶסֶן, the text gives direct information. It lay between Nineveh and Kelach,

[1] Halévy's comparison of the Rabbinic לשון חכמה, as *e.g.* טור מסכן, hill of the poor = חרדל (mustard), is here in place; see *Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum* (1838), pp. 237–240.

therefore on the east side of the Tigris between Nimrud and Kujundschik, and the name (mistaken by LXX. Ven. for רסן) seems to be distorted from *rêš-êni* (= رأس العين); monumental literature however leaves us still in the lurch concerning this town. All the less can the statement הִיא הָעִיר הַגְּדֹלָה apply to this forgotten Resen. Nor is the matter mended by Hitzig's transposition (*Daniel*, p. 106 sq.), "and Nineveh between Kelach and Resen," for Nineveh already stands, 11*b*, just where it is expected. It may now be regarded as proved that the closing remark refers to the four cities taken together; the four by reason of their wide extension lay near to each other and gave the impression of a great district, a combined Tetrapolis. The narrator was writing at a time when this great district of towers and palaces was not yet called *per synecdochen* Nineveh as it was after Sanherib, and on the other hand at a time when Asshur, which preceded the capitals Nineveh and Kelach, and was the oldest capital of the kingdom situated on the right bank of the Trigis southward of the triangle of the Tigris-Zab, was entirely in the background. It is also worthy of remark that the northern town Dûr Sarrukên, which together with the four forms a Pentapolis, is left unmentioned; it bears the name of its builder Sargon I. (*KAT.* 405), whose accession to the government falls in the year 722.

Nimrod represents, not a single people, but a great empire; now follow, vv. 13, 14, the descendants of Mizraim, who already by the plural form of their names announce themselves as nations: *And Mizraim begat the Lûdim and the ʿAnamim and the Lehabim and the Naphtuchim and the Pathrusim and the Casluchim, whence went forth the Philistines and the Caphtorim.* The לוּדִים (Chr. Chethib: לודיים) are mentioned (Ezek. xxvii. 10) as an element of the army of Tyre, and (Ezek. xxx. 5; Jer. xlvi. 9) of the army of Egypt; they were evidently a warlike people whose chief weapon was the bow, Jer. *ibid.*; Isa. lxvi. 19. We do not however know what people

is intended; according to Movers, the old Berber stock of the Lewata settled on the Syrtes; according to Kn., the Egyptianized portion of the Semitic Lud settled in North-Eastern Egypt (22*b*); according to Ebers, the original stock of the Egyptians who were called *Rutu* (*Lutu*), which means men in general (see *Jesaia*, 3rd ed. p. 690), all unsatisfactory conjectures. The עֲנָמִים also are still undiscovered. LXX. transposes the word into *Ἐνεμετιείμ*, which accords in sound with the Egyptian *emhit*, north, whence Kn. understands the inhabitants of the Delta. Ebers on the contrary explains the name according to the Egyptian *an-aamu*, wandering neat-herds, and understands them as a portion of an Asiatic nomadic people who settled in the marshes on the bucolic arm of the Nile and elsewhere. The name לְהָבִים occurs only in the ethnographic table, but is certainly only another form for לוּבִים, Nah. iii. 9, 2 Chron. xii. 3, xvi. 8; Dan. xi. 43=Libyans, who are called in Egyptian *Temhu* (*Tehennu*), but also *Lebu* (*Lubu*), perhaps as inhabitants of a dry land (comp. Kopt. *libe*, thirst, and the name of the stony deserts לוּבְיָא = חַרָּה). The נַפְתֻּחִים are, according to the interesting explanation of Kn. and Eb., the inhabitants of middle (Memphitic) Egypt, as *οἱ* (*na*) *τοῦ Φθᾶ* of *Ptah* or Hephäestos, whose Egyptian name is also paraphrased in Phœnician פתח. With these are fitly joined פַּתְרֻסִים, the inhabitants of פַּתְרוֹס = *pet-rês*, the land of the south, *i.e.* of Upper Egypt (Isa. xi. 11, and twice in both Jeremiah and Ezekiel). The explanation *pa-Hathor* (*DMZ.* xxx. 404), which leaves the ם unexplained, is mistaken; *rês* means the south, and פת is equivalent to פט in the name Potiphar. The כַּסְלֻחִים are the sixth Misraite tribe. The LXX. transposes this into *Χασμωνιείμ* (Complut. *Χασλωνιείμ*), with which nothing can be done. Since Bochart the Casluchim have been regarded as the Colchians on the eastern coast of the Euxine, but whence the ם in the name? Stark, Ebers, Kn. reply by the expedient that the Colchians originally settled on

mons Casius, the name of which may be explained in Coptic by *Kas-lôkh*, Hill of drought, and that thus the כסלחים are the inhabitants of *Κασιῶτις*, the dry salt region of the Egyptian Mediterranean coast, from the eastern limit of the overflow of the Nile to the southern boundary of Palestine, who subsequently migrated to the Black Sea. Certainly the Colchians were, according to the unanimous testimony of the ancients, esteemed as *Ægyptiorum antiqua soboles* (Ammian, xxii. 8; comp. Avienus, v. 873 sq.: *Colchus feraci Exul ab Ægypto*). It is not quite probable that they originally inhabited Casiotis (see Alfred von Gutschmied in the *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1869, Col. 107 sq.); but Targ. Jer. ii. also translates כסלחים by פנטסכנאי, *i.e.* *Πενταςχοινῖται*, inhabitants of the town of *Pentaschoinos*(*n*), in the extreme north-east of Egypt, distant five *σχοῖνοι* from Casius; in opposition to which Targ. Jer. i. has פנטפוליטי, *i.e.* *Πενταπολῖται*, inhabitants of the five town land, *i.e.* of Cyrenaica. Hyde Clark thinks he has discovered that a Caucasian language, the Ude, strikingly resembles the Basmurian dialect of the Coptic. The כַּפְתֹרִים also are by some transposed to Egypt, because they are called descendants of Misraim. Saadia understands it of the inhabitants of *Dimjati* (Damietta), Dietrich (Merx' *Archiv*, iii. 313 sqq.) of the inhabitants of the region of Buto and the island Chemmis, not far from the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile, explaining the name *kah-pet-Ḥôr*, *i.e.* the district belonging to Ḥôr (Apollo); but then the initial ח of the god's name would have disappeared, which is not a recommendation. Still less are the Cappadocians intended, as was inconsiderately inferred by the ancients (LXX. Deut. ii. 23; Amos ix. 7; Targums, Syr. Jerome), from the similarity of sound of the כפ; besides, Cappadocia is in Hebrew always written with ק. The consonants of כפתור are found together, though in a different order, in *Capreatæ*, comp. by Krücke (*Völkertafel*, 1837); but this is, according to Plin. v. 33, the name of an otherwise absolutely unknown Asiatic tribe. The most probable conjecture still is that כפתרים are the Cretes (*Κρῆτες*, anciently *Κουρῆτες*); for (1) ac-

cording to Deut. ii. 23, Amos ix. 4, Jer. xlvii. 4, the Philistines migrated from אִי כַּפְתּוֹר, and these are called, 1 Sam. xxx. 14, Zeph. ii. 5, Ezek. xxv. 16, כְּרֵתִים, which surely means Cretes. (2) Extra-biblical information also connects Egypt, Crete and Philistia: a myth in Diodor. Sic. lxvii. 70 says that Ammon, being attacked by Saturn and the Titans, fled to Crete; *Μινώα* is, according to Steph. Byz., an ancient name of Gaza, and was, according to Strabo, Ptolem. Plin., also the name of a Cretan town. So too is *Φαλάσαρνα*, the name of a seaport town on the north-west coast of Crete, which has a similarity of sound with the name of the Philistines. It is also worthy of notice that Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 2, confusing the Jews with the Palestinians = Philistines, makes the former immigrate from Crete. According to what has been said, the relative clause, אשר יצאו משם פלשתים, seems to have been removed from its right place after כפתרים. The chronicler and the ancient translators, however, already read it in its present position, and it must be esteemed possible that the Philistines were as to their origin an Egypto-Casluchian colony, who occupied the southern coastland below Gaza, subsequently received additions from Crete, and then, according to Deut. ii. 23, enlarged their district by destroying the ʿAvvim (though not entirely, Josh. xiii. 3) who had settled in the plain west of the hill country of Judah. It may be a reminiscence of this twofold descent which has been preserved in the distinction of פלשתים or פְּלִשְׁתִּי on the one side, and כְּרֵתִי or כְּרִי on the other. The relative clause in itself declares only the local, not the genealogical origin (comp. ver. 11; Nah. i. 11). The latter however, and hence the Hamitico-Egyptian descent of the Philistines, seems to be also intended, for we cannot assume that the ethnographical table would leave the Philistines as *ἀγενεαλόγητοι*.

Now follow the descendants of Canaan, the last named, ver. 6, of the sons of Ham, vv. 15–19: *And Canaan begat Ṣîdon and Chēth. And the Jebusite and the Emorite and the Girgashite. And the Chivite and the Arkite and the Sînite.*

And the Arvadite and the Ṣemarite, and the Ḥamâthite: and afterwards were the families of the Canaanite spread abroad. And the border of the Canaanite extended from Ṣîdon towards Gerâr as far as ʿAzza, towards Sodom and ʿAmora and Admah and Ṣeboim as far as Leša. At the head of the names of the eleven stands צִידֹן as the first-born. According to Justin, xviii. 3, Sidon was the first city built by the Phœnicians, who had extended to the Mediterranean, and named, as he tells us, *a piscium ubertate*, rather *a piscatu*, צַיִד. The Phœnicians called themselves, from this their mother town, צידונים. Whether the additional name רַבָּה which it bears, Josh. xix. 28, xi. 8, is a distinguishing attribute is questionable, since in *Sanh.* ii. 38 a Great Sidon (*Ṣidunu rabu*), an epithet denoting superiority, and a Little Sidon (*Ṣidunu ṣiḫru*), are distinguished (*KAT.* 103). Homer, in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, knows only one Σιδών, and not yet Tyre,[1] which in the time of David already begins to obscure the splendour of Sidon. Tyre is left out of the table, because it was of only secondary importance with respect to Sidon. Merx (*BL.* art. "Völkertafel"), following de Goeje, regards the names חֵת to הַחִוִּי, with the whole of ver. 19, as a later insertion, because the geographical order of the Canaanites is interrupted by the five names, and no נִפְצוּ, *i.e.* extension by means of colonization, is told of these Palestinian stocks. But חֵת at least should not be absent by the side of צִידֹן. For as Sidon gives its name to the entire Phœnician nation, so too does חֵת to the whole land west of Jordan, which is called (Josh. i. 4; comp. Judg. i. 26) אֶרֶץ הַחִתִּים. In Egyptian literature the *Cheta* appear as a powerful and warlike people, dwelling as far up as the Orontes, and in Assyrian *mât Ḫattê* (*Ḫatti*) is the country and kingdom whose capital is Carchemish, but the name extends thence to all the countries on the other side of the Euphrates, between the wilderness and the Mediterranean (*Paradies*, 269–273).

[1] Probus indeed remarks on Virgil's *Georgics*, ii. 115: *Tyrum Sarram appellatam esse Homerus docet, quem etiam Ennius sequitur cum dicit Pœnos Sarra oriundos.* Sarra is the old form of name for Tyrus in Ennius and Plautus, but where did it occur in Homer?

Hence we see that the Hethites were a great and mighty people which had branched off as far as to the west of Jordan, while the root and stem of their power lay between the Euphrates and Orontes. The book of Kings knows of מַלְכֵי חִתִּים beside kings of Aram, 1 Kings x. 29 (2 Chron. i. 17), and kings of Mizraim, 2 Kings vii. 6, and in the patriarchal history Hebron appears in the possession of the בני חת (Gen. xxiii.). There is no perceptible reason for denying the historical truth of the settlement of Hethites in Palestine (Ed. Meyer, § 176, note), since wherever, as in Gen. xv. 19–21, ten, or Deut. vii. 1, seven, or as in Ex. iii. 8, 17, xxiii. 33, Deut. xx. 17, six nations of Canaan are enumerated, הַחִתִּי are always mentioned first of all, or in the second or fourth place, all sources agreeing that the Canaanite population of the West Jordan country was partly Hethite. The enumeration of the eleven בני כנען here in the table is so peculiar with respect to xv. 19–21 and the other enumerations, that it is an unjustifiable violence to reject all the other names except צידן and חת (Ed. Meyer), or even only the five from חת to החוי (Merx) as interpolated. חֵת is followed by a third branch of Canaan, הַיְבוּסִי, the Canaanite clan settled in and about Jebûs, the ancient name of Jerusalem, 1 Chron. xi. 4, to which belonged Aravna (Ornan), as well as Uriah the Hethite, the husband of Bathsheba. Fourthly, הָאֱמֹרִי, neither Jebusites nor Emorites are missing in any of the three registers of the Canaanite tribes. The Emorites, whose name may signify the dwellers on the mountain-top (see on Isa. xvii. 9), were the most warlike and powerful of the Canaanite tribes, and not only established themselves on this side of the Jordan, from Mount Ephraim southwards, but founded in Mosaic times two new kingdoms beyond Jordan whose capitals were Ashtaroth and Heshbon. Their language, according to Deut. iii. 9, differed dialectically from that of the Sidonians. Fifthly, הַגִּרְגָּשִׁי, left out when only six nations are enumerated, were, according to Josh. xxiv. 11, apparently on the west side of Jordan, while according to the reading of Origen,

Matt. viii. 28 (*Γεργεσηνῶν*), they were, on the contrary, on the east side. Sixthly, הַחִוִּי, according to Ew. the inland Canaanites living (חַוּוֹת) in town communities, who, ch. xxxiv., formed a principality in Sichem, and according to Josh. ix. 11, xi. 19, a republic in Gibeon, and dwelt also (Josh. xi. 3; Judg. iii. 3) in Hermon and Lebanon. That הַגִּרְגָּשִׁי, הַגְּנַעֲנִי, הַסַּרְדִּנִי, הָרְפָאִים, enumerated among the tribes at xv. 19–21, should here, where the genealogy of Canaan is given, be omitted is not surprising, though it certainly is so that הַפְּרִזִּי, who there and everywhere else are numbered with them, are missing. Perhaps it is because the name is less that of a tribe than of the rural dwellers in country towns (comp. פְּרָזִי, Deut. iii. 5). Seventhly, הָעַרְקִי, the inhabitants of *Ἄρκη* (*Ἄρκαι*, *Ἄρκα*), Assyr. *Arḳâ* (*Paradies*, 282), Aram. אַרְקָא דִּלְבָנוֹן (*Bereshith Rabbah*, c. xxxvii. and elsewhere), the birthplace of the Emperor Alexander Severus, and a strong fortress first conquered by the Crusaders 1138, now *Tell ʿArḳa* (see Robinson Smith's second journey, 1852). Eighthly, הַסִּינִי, the inhabitants of the strong town of Sin in the neighbourhood of ʿArḳa, of which Marino Sanuto says: *de castro Arachas ad dimidiam leucam est oppidum Sin*, the "*Dorf Syn*" of Breydenbach (1483), perhaps identical with the Assyrian "*Sianu* on the sea-coast" (*Paradies*, 282), LXX. *τὸν Ἀσενναῖον*, compare the hill fortress *Σιννᾶ* in Lebanon, Strabo, xvi. 2. 18. In the prediction of the return of the dispersed of Israel, Isa. xlix. 12, these Sinites are too near to be intended. Ninthly, הָאַרְוָדִי, LXX. *τὸν Ἀράδιον*, the people of *Ἄραδος*, אַרְוָד, Assyrian *Arvada*, *Aruada*, according to Ezek. xxvii., in demand as seamen and soldiers. Tiglath Pileser I., according to 1 R. 28, 2*a*, enters Aradian ships and sails out into the great sea. Arados lay upon a small rocky island (now *Ruâd*) on the Syrian coast opposite to Antarados (*Anṭarṭus*, *Tortosa*). Strabo, xvi. 2. 12, calls this maritime town of Arados *Κάρνος* (*Κάρνη*), and describes this island of Arados, xvi. 2. 13 sq. It was taken by Tutmes III., and again by Ramses II. Strabo's notification, "Fugitives from Sidon built, it is said, the town," does not testify against its great antiquity.

Tenthly, הַצְּמָרִי, LXX. *τὸν Σαμαραῖον*, inhabiters of the strong town of Simyra, south of Arados, north of Tripolis, Assyrian *Ṣimirra*, chiefly remarkable as the northern boundary of the Lebanon. Eleventhly, הַחֲמָתִי, the inhabitants of *Ḥamâth* (حماة), Assyr. *Amattu* (*Paradies*, 275–279), Egyptian *Ḥemtu*, who formed an independent monarchy, extending over the middle and upper valley of the Orontes and a portion of the Mediterranean coast. In the Seleucidæan era it received the name of *Ἐπιφάνεια*, but has maintained its ancient name, transposed into *Ἀμάθη* by Josephus, to the present time. Of those descendants of Canaan we are told, 18*b*, that they were afterwards spread abroad נָפֹצוּ, meaning they extended over Canaan, *i.e.* the land west of Jordan. The author leaves out of consideration the Amorite kingdoms upon Batanæan and Ammonito-Moabite soil, and fixing the limits of the district of extension in ver. 19, takes Sidon as the extreme northern point, although Arka, Arados, Hamâth lie beyond Sidon farther and farther northwards. He confines himself to stating that the subsequent Holy Land, of which Lebanon formed the northern boundary, was peopled by the descendants of Canaan. He first draws a line from north-west to south-west, and thence crosses over to the south-east. The boundary points are Sidon (N.W.), Gaza (S.W.), Lesha' (S.E.), and between, to serve as marks of direction, Gerâr lying farther south than Gaza (see xx. 1), and the four cities Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim lying towards the south-east (see xiv. 2). בֹּאֲךָ is an adverbial accusative: in the direction of thy coming, like ver. 30, xiii. 10, xxv. 18, elsewhere also עַד־בֹּאֲךָ, xix. 22, 2 Sam. v. 25, 1 Kings xviii. 46, and לְבֹא, Num. xiii. 21. The author transports himself back to the time when those four cities of the Pentapolis had not yet been swallowed up, they together represent the plain of the Salt Sea. As the extreme south-eastern point however he names (here only) לֵשַׁע, lying still farther south-east of the Salt Sea, which according to undoubted tradition (Targ. Jer. קַלְרְהִי, and Jerome in *Quæstiones*, p. 17, ed. Lagarde) is that *Καλλιρρόη*

(*Καλλιρόη*) in the Wadi Zerka Ma'în, where at the foot of a barren hill small streams of sulphuretted water of the temperature of 70° R. pour forth from a hundred rents and fissures (this was the bath which Herod visited without result, shortly before his death, Joseph. *bell. jud.* i. 33. 5). Wellhausen requires for לֵשַׁע, as designating the north-eastern boundary, לֵשֶׁה or לֵשֶׁם, to Laiish (Dan). But the preceding באך bids us seek for לשע in a south-eastern direction, and besides, לַיִשׁ forms the locative לָיְשָׁה, Judg. xviii. 7.

Close of the Elohistic catalogue of the Hamites, ver. 20: *These are the sons of Ham according to families, according to their tongues, after their countries, after their nations.* The conclusion to ver. 6 sq. (comp. the close, ver. 5), including, as the text now exists, the Jahvistic extracts, vv. 8–19.

Third part: the Shemites, vv. 21–31. Jahvistic transition, ver. 21: *And to Shem was born, to him also, the father of all the sons of Eber, the elder brother of Jepheth.* גַּם־הוּא stands here quite regularly for גַּם־לוֹ, as at iv. 26. Shem bears the honourable addition to his name, father of all the בְּנֵי עֵבֶר, *i.e.* not merely of the עִבְרִים in the narrower sense, xl. 15, but of the whole Hebrew stratum of peoples, Num. xxiv. 24.[1] The second more particular designation, אֲחִי יֶפֶת הַגָּדוֹל, is certainly occasioned by the fact that the genealogy of Shem here takes the last place after that of Japheth and Ham, thus giving Shem the appearance of being the younger in respect of Japheth. LXX. Symm. Ven. Luth., the accentuation and both ancient and modern expositors (most recently Köhler) actually construe: brother of Japheth the great, *i.e.* the elder. This is however contrary to the prevailing syntax (see Nestle in *DMZ.* xxxviii. 486 sq.), according to which

[1] According to Wetzstein, עבר was a collective word of colour, denoting the dark-coloured; for the Arabian of Aden, Hadramaut and other places in the extreme south, differs from the negro in very little else than his nobler countenance. A Syrian proverb says: عبر الوجوه ان ما يظلموا يظلِموا, *i.e.* the dark-faced, if they are not ill-used, ill-use you.

הגדול belongs to the leading idea (and not like יְרֵךְ, Jer. xxxii. 7, to the genitive); besides which הגדול cannot *per se* mean *major natu* (*maximus*), and Japheth as the elder brother must have been designated בְּנוֹ־נַח הגדול (comp. on the other hand, xliv. 12; 1 Sam. xvii. 14). Shem is to both the Jahvist and the Elohist, ver. 32, the first-born of Noah, the round number five hundred in the latter passage being more particularly fixed by xi. 10 as 502. The Elohistic catalogue of the Shemites, ver. 22 sq. Sons of Shem, ver. 22: *Sons of Shem are ʿElam and Aššur and Arpachšad and Lud and Arām.* These five, as descended from Shem, are considered as a group of nations similar in origin, and hence, though not necessarily, similar in language. The enumeration proceeds from east to west, from the geographically and historically more remote to the nearer. In the first place stands עֵילָם, Accad. *êlama* (high-lying, highland), Assyr. *êlamtu* (perhaps conceived of together with עלם, to be high, remarkable, Arab. عَلِمَ, to perceive, to know); the name of Susiana,[1] *i.e.* of the great plain and mountainous district enclosing it on the north and east, bounded on the north by Persia, in ancient Persian *uvaǵa*, whence Chuzistan, or *airjama*, *arjama*, whence *Îrân*, the opposite of Tûrân; the kings of Susiana call themselves kings of *Anšan*, which is translated by *élamtu* (*Paradies*, 321). The Kossäeans, whose language was at the time still indefinable, were natives of the mountainous districts; in the plain however, which is watered by the Choaspes (Kerkha) and Eulæos (Karûn), Shemites had settled from ancient times. Elam is followed by אַשּׁוּר lying north-west of it, and signifying here the people, as at 11*a* the country. The extent of the Assyrian kingdom varied under different rulers and at different times. Assyria proper, within the more comprehensive and varying political limits (Strabo xvi. 1. 1), is the district about twenty-five miles long between the southern spurs of

[1] See Nöldeke's article, "Greek names of Susiana," in the *Report of the Göttingen Scientific Society*, 1874, No. 8.

the Armenio-Median mountains (the Zagros) and the Tigris; *Ἀτουρία*, with the capital *Νίνος* and *Ἀδιαβηνή* between Lykos and Kapros (great and little Zab), are parts of the old Assyrian mother-country, which was called non-Semitically *A-ušar* and Semiticized *Asshur*, while *Ashur* is the name of the national god, and as such signifies the dispenser of blessing, the all-beneficent. Whether Asshur, the oldest city of the kingdom, derived its name from the god (Schrader), or whether the god had his name from the city as its personification or genius, is doubtful. Shem's third son is אַרְפַּכְשַׁד, the people of the north Assyrian *Ἀρράπαχῖτις*, as Bochart already discerned, without anything better having been placed in its stead. The situation answers to the place in the catalogue, and the names concur, שד, *ξατα*, being an Armenian termination (Lagarde, *Symmicta*, i. 54; comp. Nöldeke in the *DMZ.* xxxiii. 149); the cuneiform *Arrapḫa* (according perhaps to a more etymological writing *Arabḫa*), the Kurdish *Albâḳ*, the old Armenians *Albach* (*Paradies*, 125) correspond with it. The second half indeed of the word looks like the name of the Chaldees, whence it has since Schlözer been explained ארפ־כישד, boundary (after the Arab. ارف, to bound) of the Chaldees, or otherwise as = ארמכשד, highland of the Chaldees. But the people dwelling in the Zagros mountain-chain have indeed as such been called Kossäeans (*Kaššu*), but never כשדים; this name adhering always to the people of the low land, who certainly were sometimes subjugated and ruled by the people of the mountains. The fourth place among the sons of Shem is occupied by לוד. It is unnecessary to follow with Kn. the Arabian legend, which makes لَوذ or لَوَاذ the ancient Arabian stock (so that 'Amlik is son or brother of this *Laud*)—לוד are the Lydians, though not yet in the subsequent limitation of the country of that name in Asia Minor. They are named here with good cause, for a well-testified connection existed between the Lydian and Assyrian royal houses and the Lydian and Assyrian worship

of the sun (see Baer on Herod. i. 7). The Semitic origin cannot seem surprising, for the West, southward of Mount Taurus, is as especially Semitic as the East is Japhethic (Aryan). The Lydian language was not indeed a so-called Semitic one, but this does not speak against the Semitic origin of the people (see Wilh. Hupfeld, *Exerc. Herodoteæ*, iii. p. 9). Lassen also (*DMZ.* x. 382 sqq.) numbers the Lydians among the Shemites, but incorrectly infers this from remains of the language (*e.g.* *ἀβακλής*, priest = ابو عقل, father of the understanding!), which on the contrary sound Aryan (*e.g.* *παραμήνη* = *μοῖρα*, Sanscr. *prâmana*, a measure; old Persian *farmana*, law). Lagarde (in Ges. *Abh.*) distinguishes an Iranian and a Semitic element in the Lydio-Mæonian people. The last of the sons of Shem is אֲרָם, the far-stretching people of the Aramæans, who dwelt in Syria and Mesopotamia as far as to Armenia, and, according to Strabo, xiii. 4. 6, originally settled in Cilicia also. According to Amos ix. 7, comp. i. 5, they migrated from the district of the river Kur (Cyrus) in North Armenia to their more southerly abodes. In the cuneiform monuments the *Arumu*, *Arimu*, *Aramu* reach to the borders of Elam, the name of which signifies highland. ארם too (with only a tone-long *ā*) comes, though not from רום, yet from ארם, whence אֲרַמּוֹן, and might mean highland (*Paradies*, 258); the name would then designate the people according to this original North-Armenian dwelling-place.[1] With וּבְנֵי אֲרָם, ver. 23, the Elohist now gives the nations that branched off from Aram. And first עוּץ.[2] That this is an Aramæan stock is corroborated also by xxii. 21; while on the other hand it remains uncertain whether from the Horite עוּץ, xxxvi. 38, an old blending of Seïrites (Edomites) with the Aramæan עוּץ, which certainly must, according to Lam. iv. 21,

[1] Comp. Nöldeke, "On the Names of the Aramæan Nation and Language," in *DMZ.* xxv. 113 sqq.

[2] Not = عوض (which signifies exchange, compensation for one who has died away; see Jellinek in *Konteres hamaggid*, 1878, p. 28), but عوص. An *'Aus ibn-Aram* figures among the ancestors of Damascus (in Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6. 4: *Οὗσος κτίζει τὴν Τραχωνῖτιν καὶ Δαμασκόν*).

have subsequently taken place, is to be inferred. Wetzstein in his Commentary on Job has shown it to be probable that עוץ is tLe old name of the Damascenian Aram, which extended far southwards towards the East Jordan land, and northwards in the direction of the Euphrates, about half-way to Tadmor (see on this point Friedr. Delitzsch, in vol. ii., No. 1, of the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*). The prophecy לדמשק, Jer. xlix. 23–27, coincides with the handing of the cup of fury to כל־מלכי ארץ העוץ, xxv. 20. The tradition which transposes the scene of the book of Job to ancient Batanæan soil in the *Nukra*, the most fertile part of the Hauran plain, seems to be really well founded. By חוֹל, the second son of Aram, has been hitherto for the most part understood the *Hylatæ* of Plin. v. 19, *i.e.* the inhabitants of the Hûle valley (*Οὐλάθα* in Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 10. 3), between Palestine and Cœlesyria (in the narrower sense); but the cuneiform inscriptions more frequently name a country *Ḥûlî'a* (perhaps so called as a district of sandhills) in connection with the mountainous land *Kaśjar*. This is however *τὸ Μάσιον ὄρος*, the south-eastern part of the Taurus chain lying on the Upper Tigris above Nisibis; the Mygdonius at Nisibis is called after it in Syrian the Mas river, Arab. هرماس (*DMZ.* xxxiii. 328). Undoubtedly by מַשׁ (wrongly written מֶשֶׁךְ in Chron.), here named in the fourth place among the descendants of Aram, is meant the people of this Mount Mash, and hence by חול the population of the adjacent *Ḥûlia*. Concerning גֶּתֶר nothing that commends itself, not to say satisfies, can be said. Josephus explains it according to its sound of the *Βακτριανοί*; Kn. compares the غاثر of the Arabic legend, the ancestor of the races ثمود and جديس. The descendants of Shem through Arpachshad, ver. 24: *And Arpachšad begat ʿSelah, and ʿSelah begat ʿEber.* Jahvistic in form, and though a parenthesis derived from the Toledoth of Shem in ch. xi., yet a well-considered one, since ver. 21 leaves the relation of descent between Eber and Shem uncertain. For the rest, Peleg is

the son of Eber according to both sources, ver. 25: *And to Eber were two sons born, the name of the one was Peleg, for in his days the earth was divided, and the name of his brother was Joktân.* On the construction of the Passive with the Acc. of the object, comp. iv. 18. נִפְלְגָה הָאָרֶץ is said, according to Keerl, of the division of the earth into several continents; according to Ewald, of the division of the earth by Eber, as chief over existing mankind, among those living on it. We would rather think, with Wetzstein, of a separation by migration in different directions; but that leads to the dispersion according to languages, related xi. 1–9, for which the appropriate word is נפלג, comp. Ps. lv. 9, and the usual post-Biblical appellation of that generation, and thus of the contemporaries of Peleg, as דּוֹר הַהַפְלָגָה. Hence הארץ is, as at ix. 19, xi. 1, the population of the earth. The explanation given of the name stamps פֶּלֶג as the name of a person. יָקְטָן also is a personal name; he is the same person as قحطان, who is esteemed the ancestor of all the primitive Arabian tribes, from which the extinct and subsequent, *i.e.* the most ancient and the more recent Abrahamidic population of Arabia, are distinguished. עֵבֶר might rather be a personification of the land beyond, *i.e.* the trans-Euphratic region (König, *Lehrgeb.* § 5. 3). Now follows the enumeration of thirteen sons of Joktan, vv. 26–29, of which some may be names of tribes, some of countries; at least some may be pointed out as such. The first syllable in אַלְמוֹדָד seems to be the Arabic article, as in אַלְקוֹם (levy, men in arms); the article אל however is North Arabian, not Sabæan; אל may also be the Divine name (*DMZ.* xxxvii. 18; Ges. § 35, note 1). שֶׁלֶף is Sêlef of the Arab. genealogies, the grandson of Himjar (*DMZ.* xi. 153–155); *michlâf Selef* is also the name of a district of Jemen, perhaps the abode of the Σαλαπηνοί, Ptolem. vi. 7. 23, whom Bochart already compares. חֲצַרְמָוֶת is known as the name of a district (Himyar. הצרמות, in written Arabic حضرموت

or حضرموت). The valley, forty-five miles long, which stretches between the tracts of Mareb and Mahra beyond the desert el-Aḥkâf towards the hilly sand-coast of the Indian Ocean, with the capitals 'Sibâm and Terîm and the ancient seaport ظفار (different from the inland ظفار near Ṣan'â in Jemen, the capital of the Himyaritic kingdom, the Saphar of Ptolemy). The name *Ḥaḍramaut* means fore-court of death, certainly not by reason of its unhealthy climate, but because a hot sulphur spring of the Wadi called Bir Barhut was regarded as flowing from the realm of the dead; Fresnel combines with it the *Stygis aquæ fons* in Ptolemy. The inhabitants of Hadramaut are called حَضَارِمَة, probably the *Χατραμωτῖται*, one of the four chief tribes of Southern Arabia, according to Strabo, xvi. 4. 2.[1] The tribal name יֶרַח is of the same meaning as *warḳ*, the old South Arabic and old Ethiopian name of the moon; several Arab tribes take their name from the moon; the tribe القمر upon the mountains of Zafâr, and the tribes هلال and بدر in Higâz. חֲדוֹרָם sounds like *'Αδραμῖται* (*'Ατραμῖται*) in Ptolem. Uranios Plin. (Juba), unless on the other hand this name coincides with that of the inhabitants of Hadramaut (comp. Blau, *DMZ.* xxii. 658, and Sprenger, § 95). D. H. Müller (*Burgen- und Schlösser Südarabiens*, i. 360 sq.) compares the fortress دورم west of Ṣan'â. אוּזָל (LXX. *Αἰζήλ*, according to which Samar. איזל) is the Himyaritic royal town in the west of South Arabia (comp. Ezek. xxvii. 19, where we should probably read מֵאוּזָל), which since the Abyssinian occupation in the sixth century after Christ obtained the name صَنْعَا. Dillm. remarks that in the sixth century Auzalians were still mentioned as a people in Arabia Felix in *Assem.* i. 360 sq.

[1] See *Maqrizii de valle Hadhramaut Libellus arabice ed. et illustr.* by Noskowyj, Bonn 1866.

The name דּוּקְלָה points to the date-palm and its fruit. Equally unknown is עוֹבָל (Chron. עיבל, LXX. *Εὐάλ, Γαιβάλ*); ʿAbîl is the name of one of the oldest tribes among the Arabians, the old Arabic verb عَبَلَ means to be corpulent. Equally enigmatical is אֲבִימָאֵל, a name to be analysed into Abi-ma-el (see *DMZ.* xxxi. 86), and formed like the אבמעהר of the inscriptions (*DMZ.* xxxvii. 18); if מאל were to be taken together, the tribal name (آل) ابى مالك in Hadramaut might be compared. שְׁבָא means here (comp. ver. 7) the South Arabian Sabæans (Arab. سَبَأ, inscriptions שבא and once שאבא), with the town Saba, the capital of the Sabæan ruler (the so-called Tubbaʿ, written תבע), the identity of which with Mareb (مَأْرِب, the *Μαρίαμα* of Ptolem., *Μαρίαβα* or *Μαρίεβα* of Strabo, in Plin. in the Monum. Ancyr. *Mariba*, on inscriptions מריב, *Marjab*, *DMZ.* xxx. 320–323, or also מרימת, *ib.* 689) is testified by Arabic geographers. The Sabæans were a powerful and civilised people, natives equally of South-eastern Africa and Southern Arabia. It is evident that a Cushitic (x. 7), a Joktanidic (here) and an Abrahamidic (xxv. 3) Sheba are known to Genesis. Next follows אוֹפִר, the gold of which is so proverbial in the Old Testament, that the word itself even without זָהָב means the very finest gold. It was the eastern goal of the fleet of Hiram and Solomon, which brought thence after a three years' voyage (1 Kings x. 22) gold, sandal wood (1 Kings x. 11) and other rarities. What is the use of insisting, with Dillm., that this Ophir must be a district of the southern or south-eastern coast of South Arabia? Antiquity knows nothing of an Arabian Ophir, neither can a trace of the name be discovered in South Arabia; for the South Arabic designation of red gold by *ôfir* (*âfir*), whence was Hellenized *ἄπυρον*, accepted by Sprenger, cannot be proved, and the el-Ofir in Oman compared by Seetzen is

written العفر. On the other hand, Sofâla, on the south-east coast of Africa, opposite Madagascar, must really come under consideration. Its inhabitants, as related by Lopez in his journey to India, boasted that the Israelites formerly fetched gold from them every third year. Not much weight must however be attached to this, as they probably had it by hearsay from the Portuguese; but that gold is obtained in large quantities in Sofâla and Manica we know from Livingstone (*Missionary Journey*, ii. 297). Karl Mauch found there in 1871, in North Caffreland in Zimbabye (Portug. Zimbaboë), upon a granite hill 150 feet high, and at its foot, extensive ruins, which seemed to indicate some kind of factory erected there by a foreign people. The combination with Sofâla is strikingly favoured by the transcription of אופיר by the LXX. In our passage it has *Οὐφείρ* (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6. 4, *Ὀφείρης*); elsewhere it writes the name *Σωφίρ*, or otherwise with *σ* before *ω*. But *Σωφαλά* for אופיר does not occur in the LXX., and its *Σωφίρ* (perhaps with a prefixed Egyptian *sa*, district = *sa-ofir*) is referred by the ancients, not to Africa but to India. The South African Sofâla is absolutely unknown[1] to the ancients, and even to the Arabic geographers of the thirteenth century. It is India that is called in Coptic Sophir. Hence the Arab. translates Ophir by *el-Hind;* and Abulfeda says that India as well as Nigritia has its سفالة (the Arabic Sophira), and that this (more accurately سفارة) is the name of an emporium on the Indian coast (see Ges. *Thes.*). And indeed Ptolemy, vii. 1. 6, mentions a *Σουπάρα* on the western coast of India which is one and the same with *Σούππαρα* (*Οὔππαρα*) of the *Periplus maris Erythr.* 52.

[1] Lieblein (*Handel u. Schiffahrt auf dem rothen Meer in alten Zeiten*, 1886, p. 142 sqq.) seeks for Ophir far to the north upon the Abyssinian coast, combining Ophir with *Afer*, as the people called in Abyssinian Adal (*Ἀδουλῖται*), in Arabic Danâkil, call themselves. Merensky, too (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss Süd-Afrikas*, 1875, and "*Das Ophir Salomo's und die Entdeckung von Goldfeldern in Südost-Afrika*," in the *Sonntags-Beilage* of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, 1887, Nos. 5, 6), combines in this manner Ophir and Africa, and is inclined to explain many Jewish peculiarities of the Caffres, among whom he lived fifteen years, by the intercourse of Solomon's people with the native women.

V. Baer (*Historische Fragen mit Hülfe der Naturwissenschaften beantwortet*, Petersburg 1873) finally arrives at the result that Ophir is the *Χρυσῆ Χερσόνησος* of the ancients, the island of Malakka (Chryse) forming a partition between the Indian and Chinese seas, as Cameron in the *Transactions*, 1873, p. 267 sq., that Ophir is Taprobane (Ceylon); Josephus however, *Ant.* viii. 6. 4, says, *Σώφειρα* is the *Χρυσῆ γῆ* of India, the *Χρυσῆ χώρα* of Ptol. viii. 2. 17, the Indian gold land situated westward of the Ganges in the territory watered by the *Χωφήν* (*Ant.* i. 6. 4), and therefore by the Indus. Hence Lassen's and Ritter's view, that Ophir is the coast land at the mouths of the Indus, the nearest Indian coast for the Phœnicians, is still that which commends itself. Here dwelt the people of *Abhira*, who were proverbial for their disregard of what was most precious, and of whom Pantschatantra, ver. 88, says: "In the land of Abhira, the shepherds sell moon-crystal for three cowrie shells.[1] The fact that in later and post-biblical times Abyssinia and Southern Arabia were summed up under the general name of India (*DMZ.* xxxiv. 743) is not to the purpose. Here the western coast of India is really meant, and hence we must, with Josephus, assume a dissemination of the Joktanites as far as India, although in ver. 30 this passing beyond Arabia is as much left out of notice as, in ver. 19, are the passing beyond Sidon in the north and Jordan in the west, when the Canaanite district of diffusion is defined. Ophir is followed by חֲוִילָה, which already occurred at ver. 7, and was there referred to כּוּשׁ. We do not believe that this name is a corruption of Kampila, the name of the Darada country in North-Western India, where gold is more abundant than in India and Iran. On the one side however it is certain that an Arabian חוילה is proved by xxv. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 7. Niebuhr (*Arabien*, p. 342) mentions a Huweila lying on the coast in Bahrein, which corresponds in

[1] On the many hypotheses concerning Ophir, which it would be useless here to record, see the abstract, "Ophir und Tarsus," by Zöckler in the *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1874, p. 557 sqq.

sound, while Sprenger's combination with the Yamanic خولان is phonetically forbidden. On the other side an Indian حويلة, situate in the region of the Indus, is made probable by ii. 11, if פישון there is the Indus. The *Χαυλοταῖοι*, whom Eratosthenes in Strabo, xvi. 4. 2, calls the neighbours of the Nabatæans, dwell too far to the north-west above the Arabian Gulf for the Arabian Havilah. Concerning יוֹבָב nothing is yet ascertained. Range of the dissemination of the Joktanites, ver. 30: *And their dwelling-place reached from Meša towards Sephar, towards the mountains of the east.* מֵשָׁ, 23*b*, and מֵשָׁא must be distinguished. Josephus confuses them with each other when he says, *Ant.* i. 6. 4: *Μησᾶς δὲ (κτίζει) Μησαναίους· Σπασίνου Χάραξ ἐν τοῖς νῦν καλεῖται.* For *Σπασίνου* (*Πασίνου*) *Χάραξ* is the present *Moammera* on the Schatt el-Arab (the united Euphrates and Tigris), where the Karum falls into it; and this would make מֵשָׁא the South Babylonian district *Μεσήνη*, in which lay also an Apamea.[1] The north-west corner of the Persian Gulf forms a more appropriate starting-point for the demarcation of the abode of the Joktanites than the Syro-Arabian desert, which is called in Assyrian *mât Maš* (*Paradies*, 242 sq.), and which certainly better corresponds with the name מֵשׁ than with מֵשָׁא. Hence we identify מֵשָׁא with صُعفُ, ميسان; and if סְפָר were the same as *Σάπφαρα*, *Σαφάρ* of Ptol. Plin. and the Periplus, the "capital of the Homeritic and Sabæan people," this would give a fitting south-west point. But this name is in Arab. ظفار, which cannot be rendered in Hebrew by סְפָר, a word which perhaps means coast or boundary (*DMZ.* xxiii. 638); in Greek also *Τάφαρον* would be more suitable. It is nevertheless probable that סְפָר is a south-west point whence a line is drawn towards the south-east; for הַר הַקֶּדֶם is certainly the mountain of frankincense (הר הלבונה in Aben Ezra on Gen. i.

[1] Mesene and Apamea often occur in the Talmud; see Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, pp. 325, 329, 382, and Grätz, *Mesene und seine jüdische Bevölkerung*, 1879.

11), more strictly, the imposing promontory of the south-eastern coast of Arabia, the *Ras Sagar*, on the other side of which lies the region of frankincense so famed by the ancients (Sprenger, § 128, comp. 111).

Here follows the Elohistic conclusion of the list of the Shemites, ver. 31 : *These are the sons of Shem according to their families, according to their tongues, after their lands, according to their nations.* Then the Elohistic conclusion of the whole genealogical trilogy, ver. 32 : *These are the families of the sons of Noah according to their generations, after their nations ; and of these were the nations divided upon the earth after the flood.*

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES AND THE SEPARATION OF NATIONS, XI. 1–9.

Nothing in this section points to *Q*, while ver. 6 sq. is in all respects so similar to iii. 22 sq., that this already indicates *J* as the narrator (comp. besides כל־הארץ, 1*a*, נָפוּץ, 4*b*, and וַיָּפֶץ, 8*a*, with ix. 19, x. 18). But both narrators having in ch. x., comp. ix. 19, explained the ramification of the post-diluvian human family into three groups of nations in a purely genealogical manner, and carried them back to their descent from the three sons of Noah, the question arises, whether and how the explanation which here follows, and according to which a judicial interposition of God gave the impulse to the origination of nations, is compatible with the former explanation of their origin. The answer lies in x. 25, according to which the dispersion of the population of the earth had its beginning in the days of Peleg (*i.e.* according to xi. 10, 12, 14, 16, in the fifth generation after the Flood). This dispersion, from which this generation is called by the Jews דּוֹר הַפְּלָגָה, is more than an allusion to various abodes remote from each other. Even supposing that the Noachidæ had from the time of Peleg all divided from each other, the separate groups would not thereby have become different nations.

They would by means of their oneness of language, and of the opinion and feeling which is impressed on language, have continued to be one united human family. For the root of nationalities is, in the view of Scripture, that common characteristic of internal, and thence resulting external definiteness which finds its special expression in language. Schilling calls the question, how nations originated, a great enigma, an enigma supposed to be solved by saying, that as natural affection is the bond of union to the family, so is law the bond of union to the nation; and that unity of law, *i.e.* the form of government and legislation, constitutes a nation. But this is only to explain the origin of the nation, not that of the nations, not what it was that split the human family into nations instead of their becoming a single nation. It was, as the account here following ch. x. teaches, by a Divine interposition that the one human family ceased to be one, and was more and more separated in thought and aspirations in different directions, both linguistically and locally. Thus the Divine impulse to the origination of the nations, related xi. 1–9, is not opposed to the preceding genealogic deduction, and it is not even necessary to assume that the extracts from *J* in x. 8, 10–12, must originally have stood after xi. 1 – 9 (Dillm.). It is not necessary, because *J* might first give a survey of the world of nations derived from the three sons of Noah, in order thus to relate by way of supplement how it came to pass that genealogical became ethnological distinctions. It was by the abolition of unity of language, that the unity of the family became the multiplicity of the nations. That the narrative which follows has in view such a completion of the ethnographical table is at once shown, ver. 1: *And the whole earth was one language, and one and the same words.* Kaulen (*Die Sprachverwirrung zu Babel*, 1861) rightly refers שָׂפָה to the grammatical, and דְּבָרִים to the lexical element: language in general (word-formation, syntax, pronunciation) and in particular (the names of things) was the same. The form of sentence: the whole

earth was one language, is similar to Isa. v. 12: their feast is lute and harp; that in which the subject gains appearance is made its predicate. Migration of certain Noachidæ, ver. 2: *And it came to pass, as they journeyed eastwards, that they found a plain in the land of Sin'ar, and settled there.* The verb נסע means to go forth (Assyr. *nisû*), to go on, to go farther. The place of departure is left unmentioned, for מִקֶּדֶם does not mean in the usage of the language from the east (Kaul), but eastwards, ii. 8, xiii. 11, and indeed so that, as in בְּנֵי קֶדֶם, xxix. 1, the east from a Palestinian standpoint is intended. It is moreover probable from *J* also (see on ix. 20) that the land of Ararat was the first post-diluvian dwelling-place of men. Then as subsequently the migration of nations was wont to follow the valleys of great rivers; hence these Noachidæ, following the course of the Tigris and Euphrates from the high land of Armenia, arrived in the בִּקְעָה, the plain westward of the spurs of the Median mountains watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, which approach each other more and more nearly. שִׁנְעָר, *Sumêr*, is in the title of the Babylonian kings South Babylon (as distinguished from Accad = North Babylon), here as well as at x. 10 the whole of Babylon is so called. Herodotus (i. 178, 193) says of Babylon: *κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ*; and in the Talmud and Midrash (see Aruch under זט I.) it is called זוטו של עולם, the valley of the world. In this well-watered paradisaically fertile vale they settled, and here they made preparations for the erection of buildings, ver. 3: *And they said one to another: Come on, we will make bricks, and burn to burning. And brick served them for stone, and asphalt served them for mortar.* The imperat. of יהב is הַב, give, allow, and with the intentional *ah* answers to the encouraging up! come on! (comp. Latin *cedo* = *ce-dato, cette = cedate*); הָבָה has the tone on the *penult.*, הָבוּ on the *ult.*; nevertheless the tone of הָבָה can under some circumstances (before א, xxix. 21) move to the *ult.*, and that of הָבוּ to the *penult.* (before words of one syllable, Job vi. 22). Brick is called לְבֵנָה, Assyr. *libittu = libintu*, as bleached in the

sun, but perhaps as formed of clay by flat pressing, since the Babylonio-Assyrian does not know the colour-word לבן to be white, but has for it the meaning to press flat (*Paradies*, 145). They did not however use brick in this rough state, but burned it to a burning (שׂרף is here not *comburere* but *adurere*), *i.e.* they burned the shapen clay to πλίνθοι ὀπταί, bricks in the proper sense, the opposite to the so-called air-dried bricks of mingled clay and straw, Ex. i. 14 and v. 7; these burned bricks served them in the rockless but all the more clayey alluvial land in the place of quarried stones. And for mortar or cement they used, not חֹמֶר, clay, but חֵמָר, asphalt, Assyr. *amar* = *ḥamar*. The building was, as Diodor. ii. 9 says: ὅλη ἐξ ἀσφάλτου καὶ πλίνθου πεφιλοτεχνημένη. *Hæc*, says Trojus Pompejus in Justin, i. 2, of Semiramis, *Babylona condidit murumque urbi cocto latere circumdedit, arenæ vice* (instead of lime, κονίας) *bitumine interstrato, quæ materia in illis locis passim invenitur et e terra exæstuat.* The scriptural statement does not exclude the use of air-dried bricks and ordinary mortar, it only gives special prominence to the new manner of building as calculated to last for ever. For, ver. 4: *They said, Come on, we will build us a city and a tower with its top in the heavens, and we will make us a name, that we be not scattered over the face of the whole earth.* The imperf. נִבְנֶה and נַעֲשֶׂה are as much cohortative (see Ges. § 75. 6) as that with *ah* in ver. 3. In general only the building of the tower of Babel is spoken of, but it is a city with a tower that is here in question. The words וְרֹאשׁוֹ בַּשָּׁמַיִם may be directly governed by נבנה: we will build its (the tower's) top up to heaven; but perhaps we are to conceive of them as a nominal sentence: *et fastigium ejus sit ad cœlum;* the ב is that of contact, as in נָגַע בְּ. They fear that unless they create for themselves some strong point for a centre and support, they shall be scattered on all sides; פּוּץ (properly *diffundi*) has here the pregnant sense of a local separation combined with loss of all connection. The usual meaning of עשׂה לו שׁם, to make oneself renowned, famous, does

not well suit the negative object sentence with פֶּן,—שֵׁם seems to require here a more concrete sense, and the word has originally such an one, meaning something lofty (see on Ps. viii. 1), visible from a distance, especially a monument (2 Sam. viii. 13; Isa. lv. 13, lvi. 5). Hence the reading עשה לו שם means here, according to its original full value (Isa. lxiii. 12; Jer. xxxii. 20; Neh. ix. 10; comp. שום, 2 Sam. vii. 23), to set up a monument in one's honour, and then, to acquire an honourable name. In this passage it is the tower itself as high as heaven in which the builders desire to find a unifying support, a name comprising them all, that they may not be lost in opposite directions (comp. Redslob in *DMZ.* xxvi. 754). The town with this magnificent tower is to be a centre which shall do honour to them all, and secure them against the dissolution of their unity. The unity which heretofore had bound together the human family had been the acknowledgment and worship of one God, one and the same religion, and the mode of thought and action resulting therefrom. This unity does not suffice them, they exchange it for an external self-made and therefore ungodly unity, from which the dispersion, which it was to prevent, proceeds as a punishment. Cognition of the state of affairs on the part of God, ver. 5: *Then Jahveh came down to see the city and the tower which the children of men had built.* The coming down of Jahveh (ירד, as at Ex. xix. 20, xxxiv. 5; Num. xi. 25, xii. 5; comp. also the going up of Elohim, xvii. 22, xxxv. 13) means the self-manifestation of the Omnipresent for and in acts of power, which break through the course of nature and history.[1] The Perf. בָּנוּ is meant, according to 8*b*, of the commenced and in part already executed building. Result of the judicial inquiry, ver. 6: *And Jahveh said: Behold, one people, and they have*

[1] "Holy Scripture knows of ten יְרִידוֹת of God,—says the Midrash *Pirke* of R. Eliezer, c. 14,—one in Paradise, one at the time of the confusion of tongues, one at Sodom, one in the bush, one on Sinai, two at the cleaving of the rock, two in the tabernacle, and one in the last day." The Theophany in Paradise is purposely not designated a יְרִידָה.

all one speech, and this is their beginning to do (the beginning of their doing or undertaking), *then there will not be withholden from them* (unattainable by them) *all that they purpose to undertake.* In the *en populus unus et oratio una omnibus* עַם has as supra-national a sense as at Isa. xl. 7, xlii. 5, where it means all mankind (Acts xvii. 26). זֶה refers to the building of the city and tower. הַחִלָּם has, like הַחִלּוֹתָ, הַ instead of הֶ in the second syllable before the tone of the stem beginning with a strong guttural; so too do we say and write הַעִירוֹתִי, הַעִידוֹתִי. An inference is drawn by וְעַתָּה (like xx. 7, xxvii. 8, xlv. 8). יָזְמוּ is lightened from יָזֹמּוּ, like נָבְלָה, 7*a*, from נָבֹלָה, and נִפְצָה, ix. 19, from נָפֹצָה, Ges. § 67, note 11. The partly finished building shows what association can do. Sin has taken possession of this association, it must therefore be destroyed. This destruction is not merely the demand of righteous retribution, but at the same time a wise educational arrangement designed to check the fearful generality and depth of the apostasy, to which such spurious unity would lead. Judicial resolve, ver. 7: *Come on, we will go down, and there confound their language, so that they do not understand one the language of the other.* In ver. 5 it was said וַיֵּרֶד, here נֵרְדָה, Jahveh comprising the angels with Himself, as at iii. 22 and i. 26, but here as ministers of His penal justice.[1] שָׁם points to the self-made point of unity. אֲשֶׁר is equivalent to *ita ut*, like xiii. 16; Deut. iv. 40; Ges. § 127. 3*a*. Execution of the judicial resolve, ver. 8: *Then Jahveh scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth, and they left off to build the city.* Instead of continuing: Then Jahveh confounded their language, the narrator declares at once the result of the confusion of tongues. This was brought to pass by the discord of minds which, because their thoughts and aspirations were parted asunder in the most opposite directions, were unable any longer to understand or make themselves

[1] LXX. translates διῦτε καὶ καταβάντες συγχίωμεν — the Jewish statement (*Bereshith rabba*, c. 38, and elsewhere) that LXX. changed the plural into the singular is not confirmed. The Midrash *Lekach tob* (ed. Buber, 1880) takes the plural as *plur. majestatis.*

understood by one another, such disharmony of thought and speech resulting in local separation and cessation from the common undertaking. It cannot however be meant that the confusion of languages attacked individuals in their relations to each other. For in this way a formation of different national languages would not have been arrived at. The human family was shattered into single hostile groups, which in consequence of their internal separation now separated externally. Memorial character of the name Babel, ver. 9: *Therefore its name was called Babel, for there Jahveh confounded the language of the whole earth, and thence did Jahveh scatter them over the face of the whole earth.* The verb קָרָא is conceived with the most general subject, like xvi. 14; Deut. xv. 2; Josh. vii. 26; Isa. ix. 5; Ges. § 137. 3. The city was called בָּבֶל, confusion, from בלל ✓ בל, with the fundamental notion of the loosening of the coherence of a thing, so that בָּבֶל = בִּלְבֵּל, as כּוֹכָב = כַּבְכָּב, טוֹטָפוֹת = טַפְטָפוֹת, etc., Ew. § 158*c*. The name Babel was a significant retrospect of the Divine judgment interwoven in the origin of the world-city, and of that tendency to anti-godly unity peculiar to it. It is not opposed to this that the name meant something else in the mind of the world-city. The *Etymol. magnum* derives it *ἀπὸ τοῦ Βήλου*, and so, according to Masʿûdi, do Persian and Nabatæan scholars. The writing of the inscriptions however shows that the name is composed, not of בָּב and בֶּל, but of בב and אל, *ilu*, the general Divine name. It is correctly written (as always in the Achæmenidean inscriptions) *Bâbîlu* = *Bâbi-ilu*, old Persian *Bâbirus* (*Bâbairus*),[1] Accadian *KA-DINGIRA*, gate of God (*Paradies*, p. 213); בָּב (shortened to בָּ) is an appellation of the seat of government reaching from the hoariest antiquity to the present day (*DMZ.* xxxiii. 114 sq.).

God's judicial interposition consisted, according to the scriptural account, in the destruction of unity of language,

[1] In the Indian Pali legend the name is *Babêru*. The legend says that a crow was there worshipped, and that when a peacock was brought thither it was set in the place of the crow.

not in the destruction of the buildings. Hence it is not impossible that ruins of the building, or at least traces of the site, should have been preserved. And in effect there is among the ruins of Babylon, and indeed of Borsippa,[1] on the right bank of the Euphrates, a pyramidal mound of ruins, consisting of a far-reaching base of about 60 feet high and above 2000 in circumference, a cone-shaped mass 200 feet high piled upon it, and a tower-like top of 35 feet high entirely formed of bricks, which admit no kind of vegetation, with the exception of dry lichens. This pyramid of ruins is called *Birs Nimrud* (Nimrod's Tower). The Arabs regard it as the Babylonian tower destroyed by fire from heaven. And the black scorified and vitrified masses which have fallen down from the height and lie about in heaps at the foot favour the notion. So much may at least be true, that this is the locality of the tower of Babel. This pyramid of ruins is the temple of Bel, described Herod. i. 181. It is ancient Babylonian, for it was not built, but restored, by Nebuchadnezzar, who placed upon it the tower-like top of the uppermost storey. He calls it in the inscription, in which he boasts of it, the "Temple of the Foundation of the Earth," and the "Temple of the Seven Lamps of the Earth" (Schrader, *KAT.* 121–127). With this agrees the discovery by Henry Rawlinson of a brick building of seven storeys with the seven planetary colours. The first storey blackened with pitch = Saturn, the second of orange-coloured bricks = Jupiter, the third storey red = Mars, the fourth certainly originally gilt = the Sun, the fifth, sixth and seventh storeys had the colour of Venus, Mercury and the Moon (apparently light-yellow, blue and silver), but so fallen to ruins that neither size nor colour could any longer be discerned (see Smith's *Chald. Genesis*, ch. x.). From Herod. i. 98 we learn that the ramparts of Ecbatana showed the same seven colours. There is yet another mound of ruins upon the soil and site

[1] In *Bereshith rabba*, c. 38, בויסיף is explained with reference to the confusion of tongues as = בולסוף; elsewhere differently.

of ancient Babylon, viz. that which is called *Babil;* this is the most northerly, and situate within the circuit of the ancient city. Rassam conjectures that these are the ruins of the hanging gardens constructed by Nebuchadnezzar (Mürdter p. 250).

Independent non-Israelite reminiscences of the confusion of tongues are up to the present time not yet pointed out. For the Sibyl-myth, communicated by Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4. 3, known as such also by Alex. Polyhistor (Euseb. *Chron.* i. 4 and elsewhere), is certainly a recast of the scriptural narrative. Moses Chorenazi indeed relates (i. 6) matters connected with it, *e delecta mea ceterisque veraciore Sibylla Berosiana.* Richter has admitted the narrative into his *Berosi quæ supersunt,* pp. 21–23, and cuneiform fragments are in existence from which we infer, though only conjecturally, a Babylonio-Assyrian counterpart of the scriptural narrative. The national languages themselves are, assuming its historical nature, incomparably more important remains of the occurrence. Each of these languages is indeed the product and expression of the mental and physical nature of the people to which it originally belonged. But as Divine creative words commence and cause the possibility of the natural developments of all things within and beyond the six days' work of creation, so too, according to the Scripture narrative, was a judicial act of Divine power, the momentary and mighty impulse of the natural development of languages. An act which did not indeed shatter the one primitive language into many complete separate languages, but into the beginnings of many, which from that time forth continued to advance towards completeness. The one primitive language would not indeed have remained in a state of stagnating immobility even if this miraculous Divine interposition had not taken place. In virtue of the abundance of human gifts and powers, it would have passed through a process of continuous self-enrichment, refinement and diversification. But when the linguistic unity of mankind was lost, together with the

unity of their religious consciousness, a splitting up devoid of unity and a falling into fragments devoid of combination, took the place of diversity in unity. The primitive language left behind it a stronger or weaker effect in the languages, which arose together with the nations and national religions; but as for itself, it died the death from which comparative philology is incapable of awakening it. Whether anything of its concrete form may still be discerned in the background of the most ancient languages or not, is a question which may be answered in the negative or affirmative without detracting from the historical nature of what is related Gen. xi. 1–9. If it must be answered in the negative, this is conceivable from the circumstance, that according to xi. 7 divergency preponderated in the separate languages now originating, and that the common element which the developing nations took with them into other lands was either so overgrown, as civilisation advanced, as to be quite undiscernible, or entirely disappeared. And if kindred elements are found in groups of languages otherwise fundamentally differing, this must not without further investigation be referred to an actual primitive unity. All languages are indeed the work of the human mind, the works and acts of which with an essentially equal organ of speech are everywhere analogous. Much that is of kindred nature may be explained by the fact, that there are languages which in the absence of mutual association stand at the same stage of development and are allied to each other by unity of character, while other kindred features are imparted by the intercourse and commerce of nations. Chance too produces similarities of sound by which superficial knowledge is misled to combine what is unconnected and fundamentally different. The one original language is dead, but not without hope of resurrection in the one final language. A prelude to this was the γλώσσαις λαλεῖν of the Pentecostal Church. The unity of the original beginning lies outside the science of language, and all the experiments of Pasilalia (Volapük) in anticipation of the unity of the end

are but labour lost. It is in another manner that the science of language serves to prepare the way for that end. Since philology has, under the sway of Christianity, which embraces all nations in love, become a scientific task taken up by loving hands, the walls of partition erected by the Babylonian confusion of tongues have lost their impenetrability and ruggedness, and a foreign language has gained a power of attraction great in proportion to its former repulsion — a repulsion which placed the people who spoke it among barbarians, as rather stammering and lisping than speaking like human beings.

V.

THE TOLEDOTH OF SHEM, XI. 10–26.

(Parallel passage, 1 Chron. i. 24–27.)

THE Jahvistic section, xi. 1–9, giving more detailed information of the fact noted at x. 25, is now followed by an Elohistic one, belonging to the scaffolding of Genesis and forming its fifth main division. The tenth member (Noah) of the genealogical main line, ch. v., was concluded ix. 28 sq., the lines collaterally descending from Shem and his brothers were treated of in ch. x., as we were led to expect by the previous remarks, v. 32, ix. 18 sq. Now follows, in accordance with the constant historiographic method of Genesis, the continuation of the main line which has in view Abraham, and in him Israel. The genealogy, xi. 10-26, has this in common with ch. v., that it ends in Terah as the father of three sons, as the former ends in Noah as the father of three sons. Both also compute the years to and from the birth of the first-born; but there is not in xi. 10–26, as in ch. v., a summing up of the whole duration of the life of the fathers by adding together the years before this birth and the remaining years, which also is by no means necessary for continuing the thread of the chronology. The Samaritan version nevertheless makes the two tables uniform in this addition also. And because this reckoning up of the duration of life is omitted, the eight times repeated stereotype וַיָּמֹת of ch. v. is also left out, the several members of the table each ending with the formula, repeated also ch. v., וַיּוֹלֶד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת. This is here repeated eight times, for the concluding member (Terah) is left here as there (Noah)

uncompleted. Here however we have, not ten members, but only nine.

If indeed the LXX. had the original text when it inserted after Arpachshad, both here and at x. 22, 24, a *Καϊνᾶν* (= קֵינָן in ch. v., the son of Enosh, the father of Mahalalel) with the year of birth 130, this genealogy of Shem would, like that of Adam, consist of ten members. Demetrius in Euseb. *Præp.* ix. 21, the Book of Jubilees and Luke iii. 16 herein follow the LXX., and Berth. Ew. Dillm. and others believe in the genuineness of this Kênan. But (1) since he is here the fourth from Noah, as v. 12 the fourth from Adam, his transference thence may be suspected; and (2) there is significance in Abram but not in Terah being the tenth from Shem, as Noah is the tenth from Adam; for in Abram as in Noah a new beginning is matured, and there is a decided separation between the old and the new. The abstract of the chronicler, 1 Chron. i. 24-27, knows nothing of Kênan and counts Abram as the tenth. *Μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν*—says also Berosus (in Joseph. *Ant.* i. 7. 2)—*δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις τις ἦν δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια ἔμπειρος.* This suits the Abraham of the Bible and the legend. Hence the acute Sextus Julius Africanus (see Gelzer's *Monograph*, p. 89) already rejects *Καινᾶν*; and even a Calovius, notwithstanding Luke iii. 36, passes upon him the sentence *expungendus est.* He was invented for the sake of making the tables in chs. v. and xi. uniform, and not for the sake of the 130 years which he contributes to the enlargement of the chronological network; for in the LXX. the 365 years, which according to the Hebrew text elapsed from the Flood, or more strictly from the birth of Arpachshad, to the migration of Abram, are raised to 1245; the Book of Jubilees, which reckons 642 years, and the Samaritan, which reckons 1015 (see the following table), stand midway. Bertheau, who in ch. v. decided for the text of the Samaritan, here in ch. xi. regards that of the Hebrew as original, and at least the age 70 of Terah at Abram's birth and the age 75 of Abram at the migration as traditional. It cannot be

denied that here, as at ch. v., different calculations are before us, which remain irreconcilable, so that a settled primæval chronology, which can claim belief on the ground of authority, is out of question. We however give the preference, both here and ch. v., to the Hebrew text, for in it ch. xi., with its 365 years, forms an integral member of the 2666 years reckoned from Adam to the exodus, which represent $\frac{2}{3}$ of an assumed duration of the world of 4000 years. If we take a survey of the striking synchronistic relations which result from the long duration of the lives of Noah, Shem and Arpachshad, *e.g.* that Shem lived to witness the birth of all the following eight patriarchs, the birth of Abraham, the birth of Isaac, nay, even of Esau and Jacob, and that 'Eber also survived the birth of Abraham some years; the question arises, whether the dates were really set down with a consciousness of these consequences, and the conjecture is forced upon us, that the whole sum computed for the post-diluvian period down to Abram is divided among the individual patriarchs as representatives of the epochs of this period, in which case indeed the points of view and reasons of this manner of division are not fully perceptible. In general, it is assumed that the duration of life from Shem to Terah diminished, and that in proportion as this took place marriage was hastened: it is also explicable that just at Peleg (comp. x. 25) the length of life had fallen to about two hundred years. But these points of view do not suffice for comprehending the motley jumble of numbers, which for the most part betray no kind of purpose or design.

Shem's son Arpachshad, vv. 10, 11: *These are the generations of Shem: Shem was one hundred years old, and he begat Arpachšad two years after the flood. And Shem lived after he begat Arpachšad five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.* If Noah begat Shem, as v. 32 says, in his 500th year, Shem as his first-born was in the second year after the Flood (which the Talmud and Midrash, misled by x. 21, mistake), not one hundred, but one hundred and two years old, since the Flood

took place (vii. 11) in Noah's 600th year. Hence 500 is at v. 32 a round number for 502 (see on x. 21), or ויולד there is to be strictly understood of beginning of origin, not of birth. If Noah, when he begat Shem, had completed the 500th year of his life, and Shem was born towards the close of his 501st year, it is also comprehensible that the latter had, two years after the commencement, not cessation, of the Flood, passed the 600th year of his life (Bengel, Kn. Dillm.). It is self-intelligible that וַיְהִי could not be at once continued with after the title. At v. 1–5 also, before the imperfects consecutive appear, a circumstantial perfect is started with. That Arpachshad is here designated as Shem's first-born is not in contradiction with x. 22, where the descendants of Shem are introduced, not according to succession of birth, but from a geographico-historical point of view. Shelah the son of Arpachshad, vv. 12, 13: *And Arpachšad lived thirty-five years, and begat ʿSelaḥ. And Arpachšad lived after he begat ʿSelaḥ four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.* In ver. 12, and again also in ver. 14, a circumstantial perfect is begun with in the tone set at ver. 10; it is not till ver. 16 onwards that the beginning with וַיְהִי, according to the scheme usual from ch. v., is resumed. The name שֶׁלַח means, with reference to its fundamental notion: a departure in consequence of a given impulse, and applied to water: a flowing forth (Neh. iii. 15), to plants: a sprouting, to implements: a shooting; applied to persons, it would signify a sending away. ʿEber the son of Shelah, vv. 14–15: *And ʿSelaḥ lived thirty years, and begat ʿEber. And ʿSelaḥ lived after he begat ʿEber four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.* Arpachshad having given a name to a country at the southern extremity of the high land of Armenia (x. 20), and ʿEber to a whole group of nations (x. 21, comp. Num. xxiv. 24), Shelah too seems to have a more than individual signification. Still no tribe or locality can be pointed out to which the name שֶׁלַח adheres. Hence Buttmann, Ewald, Bunsen take this proper name as a figure of national facts. So too Knobel (*Völkertafel*, p. 169): "The

name שֶׁלַח contains the allusion to the fact that in the earliest times people migrated from ארפכשד, the Chaldæan ancestral seat, and the name עבר states the region in which they settled, viz. Mesopotamia, for עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר is a frequent designation of the country on the other side of the Euphrates (*e.g.* Josh. xxiv. 2 sq., 14 sq.)." Mesopotamia is so called from a Palestinian standpoint, while עֵבֶר in its earliest historical sense would designate the passing over the Tigris. The general sense: "advance migration" (*Paradies*, p. 262), is here, where ארפכשד transports us close to the great net of the two rivers, probable. Nor does עִבְרִים (עִבְרֵי־דֶרֶךְ) signify in general those who migrate, but those who transmigrate. The name עִבְרִים however as an ethnographic name of Israel, which would according to the original meaning of the name of their ancestor, עֵבֶר, signify those who came over the Tigris, has in the subsequent usage of the language evidently the meaning: those who came over the river, *i.e.* the Euphrates,[1] not (see on xiv. 13) those who came over Jordan (Wellh. Reuss, Stade). Peleg the son of 'Eber, vv. 16, 17: *And 'Eber lived thirty-four years, and begat Peleg. And 'Eber lived after he begat Peleg four hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters.* The name פֶּלֶג means division, and is explained in this sense by the Jahvist, x. 25. Whether the name of the Mesopotamian town *Φάλγα* (*Φάλιγα*), situated where the Chaboras flows into the Euphrates, has any kind of connection with it is uncertain. Reu the son of Peleg, vv. 18, 19: *And Peleg lived thirty years, and begat Re'û. And Peleg lived after he begat Re'û two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.* The name *Urhoi* (Edessa) has nothing to do with רְעוּ (LXX. *'Ραγαῦ*, comp. *'Ραγουήλ* = רְעוּאֵל, friendship of God, friend of God); Edessa has been so called from the time when it was the capital of *'Οσροηνή*, or, which is more probable, the name arose from *Καλλ-ιῤῥόη*, for Edessa is also called *'Αντιόχεια ἡ ἐπὶ Καλιῤῥόῃ* (*a fonte nominata*, Plin. v. 24). Sprenger strays even

[1] Comp. *Bereshith rabba*, c. xlii.: עברי שחוא מעבר הנהר ושהוא לשון של בני עבר הנהר. מְשִׂיחַ בלשון עברי, *i.e.* as it is correctly glossed:

as far as رعوة on the Shammar. Serûg the son of Re'û, vv. 20, 21: *And Re'û lived thirty-two years, and begat Serûg. And Re'û lived after he begat Serûg two hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters.* The name שְׂרוּג (comp. Arab. *sirâg*, lamp) has adhered to the Mesopotamian province and town of *Sarug*, a day's journey north of Harran; the town of Sarug is, according to its Greek name, *Βάτναι* of Osroëne. Nahor the son of Serûg, vv. 22, 23: *And Serûg lived thirty years, and begat Naḫor. And Serûg lived after he begat Naḫor two hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.* The nations of whom Nahor is the ancestor are registered xxii. 20 sqq.; but no people, country, or place carrying on his name can be pointed out. Terah the son of Nahor, vv. 24, 25: *And Naḫor lived twenty-nine years, and begat Teraḫ. And Naḫor lived after he begat Teraḫ one hundred and nineteen years, and begat sons and daughters.* The name תֶּרַח is perhaps the same word with the Babylonio-Assyrian name of the antelope, *turâḫu*, Syr. *tarûḫa*, Arab. *arḫ*, *urḫî*. Kn. combines with it (LXX. *Θάῤῥα*) the town *Tharrana* southwards of Edessa upon Tabula Pentingeriana, xi. *d*. Friedr. Delitzsch notes a Mesopotamian name of a town *Til-ša-turḫi*. The sons of Terah, ver. 26: *And Teraḫ lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Naḫor and Haran.* The genealogy consisting of nine members closes with Terah; it points to Abram, just as v. 32 does to Shem. The date here, as there, designates the first-named as the first-born. The birth years of Nahor and Haran are, like those of Ham and Japheth, without importance for the chronological progress of the history. This genealogy closes with the ninth member, because the following תולדות were not to be entitled תולדות אברם, but תולדות תרח; for the chief personage of the section is Abram, the descendant of Terah, whose historical importance consists in his being the father of Abraham. If the section had had for its title, not תולדת תרח, but תולדת אברם, we should expect the history of Abraham in his descendants, while the history of Abraham is on the contrary essentially his own.

TABLE TO GENESIS XI. 10 SQQ. (comp. xii. 4).

The Post-diluvian Patriarchs to the Ancestor of Israel.

The bracketed figures in the LXX. are the readings of the Cod. Alexandrinus. Only the Samarit. text sums up the durations of life.

Names of the Ten.	Heb. Text.			Samar. Text.			Septuag.			Year of Birth after the Creation of the World, according to Heb. Text.	Year of Death after the Creation of the World, according to Heb. Text.
	Age at the Birth of the First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Whole Duration of Life.	Age at the Birth of the First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Whole Duration of Life.	Age at the Birth of the First-born.	Remainder of Life.	Whole Duration of Life		
Shem, . .	100	500	600	100	500	600	100	500	600	1558	2158
Arpachshad,	35	403	438	135	303	438	135	400 (430)	535 (565)	1658	2096
(Καϊνᾶν), . .	vacat	vacat	vacat	vacat	vacat	vacat	130	330	460		
Shelah, . .	30	403	433	130	303	433	130	330	460	1693	2126
'Eber, . .	34	430	464	134	270	404	134	270 (370)	404 (504)	1723	2187
Peleg, . .	30	209	239	130	109	239	130	209	339	1757	1996
Re'û, . . .	32	207	239	132	107	239	132	207	339	1787	2026
Serûg, . .	30	200	230	130	100	230	130	200	330	1819	2049
Nahor, . .	29	119	148	79	69	148	179 (79)	125 (129)	304 (208)	1849	1997
Terah, . .	70	135	205	70	75	145	70	135	205	1878	2083
At Abram's migration, .	75			75			75			(1948	2123)
From the Flood (more strictly from the birth of Arpachshad in the second year after the Flood) to Abram's migration, . .	365			1015			1245[1]				

[1] The Book of Jubilees offers at chs. viii.–xi. a fourth computation. It reckons from the birth of Arpachshad to Abram's migration 642 years, by ascribing to Arpachshad 66 years at the birth of his first son, to Cainan (whom he inserts with LXX.) 57, to Shelah 67, to 'Eber 68, to Peleg 61, to Re'û 59, to Serûg 57, to Nahor 62, to Terah 70, and counting thence to Abram's migration to Canaan 75 years.

VI.

THE TOLEDOTH OF TERAH, XI. 27–XXV. 11.

THERE is nothing omitted between xi. 26 and xi. 27. Hence the general anticipatory statement of xi. 26 and the details of what is there alluded to, beginning xi. 27, join closely with each other. This shows us that the previous history of Israel in *Q* consisted entirely of a series of תולדות, rounded off and yet trenching upon each other. Within this framework however the genealogy passed into historical narrative wherever material was at hand and the scope of the work induced it. Now that the author has arrived at Abram, this material begins to be more abundant. The title וְאֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת תֶּרַח belongs to the whole following history of Abraham, down to the new sections of the Toledoth of Ishmaël and Isaac. Hence a good portion of the historical matter in these Toledoth certainly belongs to *Q*, but as certainly not the whole, for extracts from all sources, of which Genesis consists, are inlaid in the panelling of the Toledoth. It was however regarded as settled that not only the verse, with the title, xi. 27, and xi. 32, which finishes off Terah as a member of the genealogy, belong to him, but also that all between these two verses is Elohistic (*e.g.* by Kayser, *Urgesch.* p. 12), until Wellh. and Dillm. here also carried on the unravelling process to such an extent as to leave only vv. 27, 31, 32 to *Q* as his certain property, with some hesitation as to מאור כשדים in ver. 31. For the view that Ur of the Chaldees as Abram's starting-point does not belong to the oldest form of tradition, and was first inserted by *R* (the redactor) both here in Elohistic and, xv. 7 and indeed xi. 28*b*, in Jahvistic connection, is more and more gaining ground. There are however,

as we shall see, no valid grounds for thus expunging a fundamental assumption of the previous history of Israel. In ver. 27 we again find ourselves on the soil of purely domestic history, and learn what happened in the family of Terah, Abram's father, down to the migration to Harran in Mesopotamia. The three sons of Terah, ver. 27: *And these are the generations of Terah: Terah begat Abram, Nahor and Haran, and Haran begat Lot.* Each of the three is important to the sacred history: Abram as the ancestor of Israel, Nahor by reason of his female descendants, who enter into the line of the promise, Haran as the father of Lot. The name אברם appears also elsewhere in the Babylonio-Assyrian form *Abu ramu* (see Schrader, art. "Ur," in Riehm's *HW.*). We know as little why Terah gave his first-born this name, as why he gave the second that of נָחוֹר, the snorter, and the third that of הָרָן, the miner. The הר contained in this third name does not justify the inference that it was originally meant of a tribe or country. חָרָן, with which Wellh. (*Gesch.* 325, *Proleg.* 330) arbitrarily confounds it, is an etymologically different word. The tie which united Terah and his family to their home was loosened by an early death, ver. 28: *And Haran died in the lifetime of Terah his father in the land of his birth, in Ur Casdim.* He died עַל־פְּנֵי of his father, so that the latter could and must behold it, hence while he was yet alive (comp. Num. iii. 4; Deut. xxi. 16). That Haran died in the land of his birth was the more worthy of note, because Terah his father afterwards died in Harran. The land of Haran's birth, and consequently of Terah's dwelling, is designated as אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים. It is not surprising that LXX. translates χώρα τῶν Χαλδαίων,[1] since it occurs nowhere else than in the history of Abram as the name of a city. The synagogal and ecclesiastical legend (see Beer, *Das Leben Abrahams nach Auffassung der jüd. Sage,* 1859) read out of the אור, that Abraham was, as a confessor of the one true God and a denier

[1] According to this, Nicolaus Damasc. says, in Joseph. *Ant.* i. 7. 2, that Abraham came ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὑπὲρ Βαβυλῶνος Χαλδαίων λιγομένης, *i.e.* from the land of the Chaldees, reaching from and around Babylon. Comp. the designation of Ethiopia as ἡ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου in Thucydides, ii. 48.

of the gods of Nimrod, cast into the fire, and miraculously preserved by God; and in accordance with this, Jerome translated, Neh. ix. 7, *eduxisti eum de igne Chaldæorum.* Since J. D. Michaelis and Schlözer the אור of Terah has been supposed to be discovered in the castle of *Ur* (Persian اُورا, castle) lying within the Persian boundaries, six days' journey north of Hatra, mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, xxv. 8. But this castle, mentioned nowhere else, was first built by the Persians or Parthians, and is hence already out of question. The Syrian Church flattered itself that Edessa was the native place of Abraham, but *Urfa*, *Urhoi* (Arab. *er-Rúha*) have as names of Edessa nothing to do with אור (see on xi. 18), and as little with *Uruk* or *Warka* (Vaux after H. Rawlinson's former view), for this is אֶרֶךְ, *Ὀρχόν*. This last combination is however correct, so far at least as the appellation, since it seeks for Ur in the Chaldæan land, *i.e.* here as elsewhere (*e.g.* also Ezek. i. 8) Babylonia, situate southward from Assyria towards the Persian Gulf.[1] That the ancestral home of the patriarchs was in Babylon can the less surprise us, since the primitive histories which we read in Genesis are in nearer and more manifold contact with the traditions of the Babylonians and Assyrians than with those of any other nation. And if indeed a city *Ur* can be pointed out in Babylonia proper (Sumêr or שנער), and one which had also been famous as a seat of government and civilisation, we should rejoice at so brilliant a confirmation of the scriptural narrative. We attach credit indeed to the extra-biblical information, that the Canaanites migrated from the Persian Gulf to the land of the Jordan; and yet this lacks such confirmation as is afforded by the discovery of the site of the city of Ur, together with many remains dating from the time of its existence (from Nabonid 538 B.C. downwards), in the mound

[1] This applies to the Talmud, though it mistakenly transposes Ur to the neighbourhood of Cuthah (כוּתָא, كوثى), north-eastwards of Babylon, *Bathra* 91*a*: "The small side (not the small ford, *DMZ.* xxxix. 6) of כותי is Ur Casdim."

of ruins, *el-Mugheir*,[1] upon the right bank of the Euphrates, a little southwards of the 31st degree of latitude. Here resided the most ancient Babylonian kings; here existed a very ancient temple of the moon-god, restored by the last Babylonian king;[2] here was a double water-way to north and south at the disposal of traffic, viz. the Euphrates and the great canal Pallakopas, which united North Babylonia directly with the sea.[3] It is not yet determined what *Ur* signifies; perhaps it is South Babylonian, and equal to the North Babylonian *êru* (Heb. עִיר). The genitival definition בַּשְׂדִּים is intended to designate the city as Babylonian, and is also *sensu strictiori* appropriate, since the Assyr. *mât Kaldi*, where it is distinguished from *Karduniâš*, is a name of South Babylonia (chief district *Bît-Jakîn*). Dillmann alleges as a reason for suspecting the antiquity and historical nature of the אור בשׂדים, that the Chaldæans כשׂדים first occur in the Bible "after Jeremiah's time." But as Habakkuk mentions and describes them, why should not the Jahvist, who elsewhere shows himself well acquainted with what is Babylonian, know of them? Already in inscriptions of Rammannirari III., 810–781, and therefore long before the complication of Israel and Judah with Assyria, Babylonia as a whole is called *mât Kaldi*

[1] This writing suggests the thought of عُغَرٌ, *red chalk*, but it is now written المُقَيَّر, *i.e.* built with pitch (asphalt) (*Paradies*, p. 227), "the asphalt city" (Schrader).

[2] It is in striking agreement with this, that according to Eupolemus (in Euseb. *Præp.* ix. 17), who wrote after 150 B.C., Οὐρίη Χαλδαίων was also called Καμαρίνη; قَمَر (comp. اقمر, to be hoary) is the Arabic name of the moon. Comp. however Schrader, *KAT.* 130. Boscawen in his article, "Historical Evidences of the Migration of Abraham," 1886, shows that a very ancient mutual intercourse existed between Ur and Harran as the chief seats of the worship of the moon.

[3] Hommel, in a German essay published in London, Aug. 1886, remarks that "Hebrew nomads could easily make a temporary settlement just in or near Ur, the only ancient Babylonian city on the western bank of the Euphrates, on the borders of the Arabian desert inhabited by nomads. In the cities east of the Euphrates, on the contrary, they would soon have been identified with the stationary population of Babylonia."

(*Paradies*, 200, *KAT.* 131); *Kasdi* is the Babylonian form of the name, and *Kaldi* (by a similar change of sound, as in *altur* for *astur*, I wrote) is the Assyrian. If the older historical work of *J* (*JE*) testifies, xv. 7, that Abram came out of אור כשׂדים, the like statement in the more recent one of *Q* cannot be surprising. Dillmann feels the want of any reconciliation in the preceding accounts for the statement in both, and thinks that *J* dates the migration of Abram into Canaan from Harran as the dwelling-place of his family. But this is the case only if we deny to him מאור כשׂדים, xv. 7, and do away with the lines of connection given xi. 26 sqq. Schrader rightly regards (*KAT.* 133) the departure of Abram from Ur of South Babylonia as historically accredited by the concurrence of *Q* and *J* (comp. Neh. ix. 7); and Kittel ("Die Herkunft der Hebräer nach dem A. T.," in the *Stud. aus Württemb. Jahrg.* vii. 1886), though he finds the equation: Ur Casdim = Uru = Mugheir "worthless" for the connection and comprehension of the biblical sources, revolts against the assumption that אור כשׂדים is in the text of both narratives a voluntary interpolation of *R*, and prefers to persuade himself that *J* and *Q* thought of this Chaldæan Ur as situated north or north-west of Charran.[1] Hence it is agreed that the ancestral home of the patriarchal family lay not in north-western Mesopotamia, but in Chaldæa proper. Marriages in the family of Terah, ver. 29: *And Abram and Nahor took themselves wives; the name of Abram's wife was Sarai, and the name of Nahor's wife was Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah and of Iscah.* We do not learn that Sarai was the daughter of Terah till we are subsequently told so, 31*a*; perhaps אֲחֹתוֹ originally stood after שָׂרַי, and *R* expunged it because it was not properly intelligible without xx. 12. She was Abram's half-sister, of the same father, but not of the same mother.[2] Nahor married in Milcah his

[1] V. Baudissin also transfers it to Northern Mesopotamia (*Theol LZ.* 1880, Col. 379).

[2] In such marriages with sisters among the Shemites are still to be seen, according to the researches of the Dutchman Wilken and the Scotchman Rob.

brother's daughter, both marriages being according to subsequent Jewish law, but not according to contemporary opinion, incestuous. It is evident that Milcah is mentioned because Rebecca the wife of Isaac was descended from her. Hence it is needless to show (Wellh. Dillm.) that ver. 29 and xxii. 20–24 are from the same pen. The verse indeed prepares also for xvii. 15, while to Iscah there is no further reference.[1] Was she Lot's sister and perhaps his wife (so Ew.), and hence the ancestress of the Ammonites and Moabites? Sarai's childlessness is already expressly dwelt on, ver. 30: *And Sarai was barren; she had no child.* Wellh. Dillm. think this statement premature in this place, but it is not so; for it states that Abram was childless when he migrated from Ur by way of Harran to Canaan. וְלָד is *ἅπαξ γεγρ.*, for in 2 Sam. vi. 23 the reading vacillates between יֶלֶד and וֶלֶד (from וָלַד = יָלַד). The call of God to Abram had not yet gone forth when his transference from Chaldæa to Canaan was already being prepared for by God's providence, ver. 31: *And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, his grandson, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, Abram's wife, and they went with them from Ur Casdim, to go to the land of Canaan, and they came to Harran, and settled there.* There is no way of satisfactorily dealing with the וַיֵּצְאוּ אִתָּם. To translate, with Knobel: they went with each other, is forbidden by the fact that the suffix may indeed have a reflexive, but not a reciprocal meaning. If it is explained: Terah and Abram with Lot and Sarai (Rashi), or *vice versâ*: Lot and Sarai with Terah and Abram (Keil), it cannot be perceived why they who departed are thus halved. And if the

Smith (see Nöldeke in *DMZ.* xl. 148 sqq.), traces of the matriarchate once prevailing among them, and according to which only descent from the same mother was, as blood-relationship proper, valid for matrimonial and hereditary rights.

[1] We dispense with determining the meaning of the two names, but this much is certain, that מִלְכָּה decidedly comes from מלך = to counsel (whence the king as counsellor and decider, יוֹעֵץ, has his name), יִסְכָּה from סכה or שכה, to behold.

אִתָּם is referred to the unmentioned members of the family, or to the bond-servants (xii. 5) of those mentioned, or if on the other hand these are made the subject, and אתם referred to the four, no cause is stated and therefore no justification afforded for so doing. The text is probably corrupt (Olsh. Schrad. Dillm.), and originally was וַיֵּצֵא אִתָּם: and he, Terah, went with them (Syr.), or וַיּוֹצֵא אִתָּם: he, Terah, led them forth (LXX. Sam. Jer.), which is the more suitable, since the ו of ויצאו, which has got into the wrong place, is thus also explained. Then too is the question set at rest as to whether Nahor (whose name the Samar. inserts) went with them. He did not go with them, but started afterwards, for the extreme point of this journey was Harran, and there we afterwards find (comp. xxvii. 43 with xxiv. 10) Bethuel and Laban, the son and grandson of Nahor. The migration of the Terahites may be connected with that northward tending movement of nations from the Persian Sea (*DMZ.* xxvii. 419), to which belongs also the emigration of the Canaanites (see on x. 6). The narrative however manifests here no interest in the history of the nations, but only an interest in individuals concerned in the history of redemption. Harran (Heb. with compensatory lengthening חָרָן, Arab. حَرَّان, Χαῤῥὰν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας in Joseph.; *Har-ra-nu* on inscriptions) is the place where the great roads divide, conveniently situated for trade (חרן, from √ חר, to be narrow, like the English *strait*) in North-western Mesopotamia. It was praised by Josh. (*Ant.* xx. 2. 3) as fertile, especially in Amomum, and its site is still marked by ruins south-east of Edessa (Orfa). It is the *Κάῤῥαι, Carræ*, in whose neighbourhood Crassus and Caracalla met with their ruin in their expeditions against the Parthians, and it subsequently formed the border-town of the Græco-Byzantine kingdom, the walls of which were rebuilt by Justinian. It was the chief seat of the Sabians or Harranians (described by Chwolson, 1856), who possessed there a sanctuary dedicated to the moon-

god, which they traced back to Abraham. Here Terah died, ver. 32: *And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years, and Terah died in Harran.* When the direction subsequently went forth to Abram, xii. 1, to go to the land that God would show him, the death of Terah appears to have meanwhile taken place. The Samar. changes this appearance into reality by diminishing the duration of Terah's life to 145 years. In the Hebrew text however it is 200 years; and if Terah was 70 when he begat Abram (xi. 26), and the latter left Harran at the age of 75 (xii. 4), Terah was then 145 years old, and if he lived to be 205, survived the separation 60 years. Jerome tries to make use of the expedient of dating the 75 years of Abram, not from his birth, but from his preservation from the furnace, this being, as it were, his new birth. Others (*e.g.* Meusel's *Kirchliches HL.*), by making Abram, in opposition to ver. 26, the youngest son of Terah, and born in his 130th year. But the difficulty so violently got rid of does not, on due consideration, exist at all. The reason that Terah's death is related before Abram's call, is to be found in the custom observed in Genesis, of entirely setting aside secondary individuals and matters for the sake of being able to devote uninterrupted attention to the chief person and chief matter. For Terah's importance with respect to the history of redemption is absorbed in his being the father of Abram, and dies out from the time that the new beginning, to which Abraham is appointed, comes upon the scene. In the speech of Stephen, Acts vii. 4 (as also in Philo, i. 461, Mang.), the succession of the narrative is taken for the succession of events.

The patriarchal history begins with ch. xii. The result of the separation of languages was the origin of nations, and at the same time the origin of heathenism. Idolatry took possession of the line of Shem also, and especially of the Terahites, Josh. xxiv. 2, 14. It was shown that neither the remembrance of the primitive revelation which they took with them at the dispersion, nor the law written in their hearts,

was capable of securing the continuance of the true knowledge of God. If grace would prevent mankind from becoming entirely a *massa perdita*, it must separate one man, who has preserved the knowledge and love of God, and make him and his race the depositaries of the pure knowledge of God and of His redemptive revelation. This one was Abraham, the אֶחָד of Isa. li. 2, Mal. ii. 15, who is called to be the *ῥίζα ἁγία* of Israel, the mediator nation for mankind. What was needed on the part of Abraham, if he was to receive into himself the fundamental new beginning, and to be serviceable to it, was above all things faith, and he became in effect the man of world-conquering faith, as Isaac was the man of quietly enduring faith, and Jacob the man of wrestling faith. He stands typically at the head of the patriarchal triad, for in Isaac Abraham's loving endurance, and in Jacob Abraham's hopeful wrestling, are but repeated. In Abraham faith shows itself in the whole plenipotence of its individual elements, and he is hence *πατὴρ πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων*, the ancestor of Israel and the model of all believers.

The life of Abraham is comprised under the title אלה תולדות תרח, and reaches from xi. 22 to xxv. 18. When Ewald, not recognising the decadal plan of Genesis, asserts (*Jahrb.* iv. p. 40) that a title concerning Abraham corresponding to the titles concerning Isaac, xxv. 19, and Jacob, xxxvii. 2, is missing after ch. xi., and when Hupfeld (*Quellen*, p. 18) thinks there is no other answer to the question, why there is no title אלה תולדות אברהם, than that "this deficiency may at all events be explained," this rests upon a misconception of the true sense of the formula. The תולדות of Terah intend to give the history of Abraham, and they make us expect it, because the importance of Terah in the history of redemption consists in his being the father of Abraham, and because the impulse, given according to God's providence (xi. 31) by him, goes on in Abraham. The history which commences from him is concentrated in Abraham. The experiences of Abraham form the essential and central contents of the Toledoth of Terah

which close as genealogically at xxv. 1–10 as they begin genealogically at xi. 27–32.

It is between this commencement and close that the history of Abraham advances in four periods, the commencements of which form the most prominent events in the life of Abraham, and are very important occurrences in the history of redemption. The first period, chs. xii.–xiv., begins with the call of Abraham and his departure for the land of promise; the second, chs. xv.–xvi., with the promise of an heir and the sealing of Abraham's faith by a covenant; the third, chs. xvii.–xxi., with the change of his name and the institution of the sign of the covenant; the fourth, chs. xxii.–xxv. 11, with the great trial of Abraham's faith and the confirmation of the promises to him after he had proved faithful. The grounds of this division are furnished by the facts of the history; the first and fourth parts are also marked off, for the purpose of calling attention to them, by externally similar commencements, xv. 1, xxii. 1.

The Toledoth frame is by *Q* (*A*). Chs. xvii. and xxii. are whole and larger sections by this writer, xix. 29 is an example of a certainly recognisable fragment from this source. The redactor (*R*) had *Q* and had *JE* before him, and these two last, as it seems, already combined into a single whole. The main portion of the history of Abraham, which is worked into the Elohistic frame, is derived from *J* (*C*), at least the sections xii. 1–8, 9–20, chs. xviii.–xix., ch. xxiv., certainly are so. Since Hupf. (*Quellen*, p. 168), ch. xx. (Abraham in Gerar), together with xxi. 22 sqq. (the treaty with Abimelech), has been regarded as the first certainly recognisable portion of the second Elohist. For the rest, the analysis into *J*, *E*, and *R* must be content with not going beyond bare probability.

The history of Abraham and of the patriarchs in general gives an impression of being an account of actual persons with distinct individuality who lived on in the national tradition, and of personal experiences consistent with the circumstances

of the times, and never appearing by their incredibility and want of moderation to be a poetic recasting of perceptions and thoughts into histories. According to Goldziher (*Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*, 1876), Abram is the starry heavens, and "the smiling one (יצחק) whom the exalted father intended to slay, or as it may have originally run, actually slew, is the smiling day, or more precisely, the smiling evening sky, which in its struggle with the night sky comes off the loser and is defeated." The utterly unfounded expedient of an actual slaying, which alone makes this explanation by a nature-myth possible, should be taken into consideration. A pendant is furnished by Grill's (*Die Erzväter der Menschheit*, 1875) explanation of the death of the other spies while Joshua and Caleb remained alive. "In this history," he says, "the original myth seems to have described the speedy disappearance of the stars at the break of day and the contemporaneous and certain rising of the cool morning breeze; Caleb is one of the two dogs comprising the duality of the morning and evening breezes." Grill is distinguished from Goldziher by his ascribing Sanscrit as their mother tongue to the primitive Hebrew people, and seeing in the histories of the patriarchs, nay, even in those of the Judges also, transformed Sanscrit myths. Jul. Popper (*Der Ursprung des Monotheismus*, 1879) treads another path in an essentially similar spirit. Abram is to him Heaven, which was reverenced by the most ancient Semites, their oldest deity like *Djāus-pitar*, the heaven-father of the ancient Indians. Dozy (*Israeliten zu Mekka*, 1864) moreover turns to account Isa. li. 1 sq. to prove that Abram was originally an object of worship and indeed a stone fetish like the Ka'ba, the black stone of Mecca, and Sara consequently the cave in which it lay. Hitzig (*Gesch.* i. 41 sq.) thinks that because Abram sojourned in Egypt his name ought to be explained from the Koptic *ape*, head, top, Latin *apex*, and the Kopt. *rômi*, man: he is the man who was invented for the purpose of having a beginning for a new development. All these are wild imaginations, on

whose adornment much learning has been squandered, but which are utterly devoid of any exact scientific proof.

It is indeed possible that the history of the patriarchs in its present form may be in part the product of some legendary or even mythic formation. But before we can acknowledge the possible as the actual, we require proofs that legend has here as there independently given shape to originally historical material, or that myth has historically incorporated certain ideas or abstractions. Many names of tribal ancestors in the genealogies in Genesis being without doubt only ideal and not real unities, it must be allowed to be possible that Abraham should also be such an eponymous hero. In this sense it is that Stade asserts (*Gesch.* 127 sq.) that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph are tribal heroes, Jacob and Joseph also names of tribes; and further, that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were worshipped at renowned sanctuaries, among which that of Abraham was the least famous. Also, that the Israelites either derived from the Canaanites the heroic figure honoured and celebrated in these places, or localized a Hebrew one there; but in either case a pre-Egyptian sojourn of Israelite families in the land west of Jordan is out of question, and a sojourn of Israel in Egypt previous to their migration in the first place to the country east of Jordan cannot be admitted. To prove the share which the myth has in the history which has come down to us, he himself constructs a mythic history of most peculiar invention, built up upon the most daring denials. For him the patriarchal preliminary stage of the Mosaic religion has no existence. The epoch-making act of Moses was the introduction of the worship of Jahveh as a tribal god, and this he derived from the Arabian Kenites. A fancy picture upon such a *tabula rasa* is not history saved but history ruined.

How much more moderate, and therefore much more interesting, are the results at which Dillmann arrives, though he starts from the "now self-intelligible premiss," that the narratives concerning the patriarchs belong not to history strictly so called, but to the region of legend. For—and

this he places foremost among the tokens of the legendary—there is no single nation on earth to whom their true ancestor can be historically assigned, and nations in general are not formed after the manner of a family, but grow together from all sorts of materials (comp. also Popper, *ibid.* p. 110, and elsewhere). This must be conceded, but the nation appointed to be the vehicle and mediator of the revealed religion is, as is emphasized throughout the Old Testament Scriptures (*e.g.* Deut. xxxii. 6), no mere formation of nature, and the unique is just what might be expected in the manner in which this nation originated, assuming indeed that a sphere of grace above that of nature, and therefore a sphere of the supernatural government of God above that of natural law, is acknowledged. Besides, the migration of the Terahites is already more than a mere fact of family history (see on xi. 31). And a shepherd-prince like Abraham, who can bring into the field hundreds of bondmen regarded as incorporated into his family, is even on that account developing into a tribe. It is in this manner at least that many prominent tribes among the South-African Bantus have originated from some chief, and in conjunction with him. And the family of Jacob which settled in Egypt, which as a consanguineous kindred numbered only seventy souls, grew there into a nation, not merely from itself alone, but by the reception of all sorts of foreign materials. Nature and grace co-operated. If the factor of grace is deducted, Israel is, according to Amos ix. 7, Ezek. xvi. 3, in its origin and composition a nation like any other.

THE CALL OF ABRAHAM, AND HIS ENTRANCE INTO THE LAND OF PROMISE, XII. 1–9.

This first portion of the first section of Abraham's life relates the event which gave a new direction to his life when well-stricken in years, and began to make it a fundamental component in the history of redemption. It is derived from

J, but completed in 4*b*, 5, from *Q*. Abram hears the voice of God, ver. 1: *And Jahveh said to Abram: Get thee out from thy country and thy home and thy father's house, into the land that I will show thee.* We must not conceive of this speaking of God to Abraham as external; he heard the voice of God within him, in the inmost depth of his soul, which the New Testament calls πνεῦμα τοῦ νοός, and to which man must ever retire if he would hear the voice of God. The scene of this chiefly internal occurrence was, according to the meaning of the Toledoth of Terah, as we now have them, Harran (4*b*, xi. 31*b*); but the speech of Stephen (Acts vii. 2), and many expositors who are not influenced by it (*e.g.* Kimchi), assume that the narrative reaches back to the time when the family of Abram still dwelt in Ur Casdim, and according to the prevailing view (xv. 7; Neh. ix. 7) the Divine intervention certainly dates thence. On the other hand there is of late an inclination to entirely expunge אור כשׂדים from the previous history of Israel.[1] This is apparently favoured by the circumstance that Abram, who is here enjoined to leave ארץ and מולדת, in ch. xxiv. designates Mesopotamia (Harran) not only as ארצו ומולדתו, ver. 4, but also as ארץ מולדתו, ver. 7, which is, according also to xxxi. 3, 13, one and the same. If the words are pressed, Abraham really states himself, xxiv. 7, to have been born in Harran; Reggio harmonizes the apparently discrepant statements by assuming that the family of Terah made only a temporary sojourn in Ur Casdim, but that their proper dwelling-place, מעולם, Josh. xxiv. 2, was Mesopotamia. Perhaps the following is a better expedient, viz. that while ארץ מולדתו in its strict sense means the land of a man's birth, as undoubtedly, xi. 28, ארצו ומולדתו does a man's country and birthplace, like xxxii. 9, but that both expressions then denote in a general way the native land and home, *i.e.* the country and place,

[1] Ed. Meyer however says in the *Deutschen Rundschau*, 1887, 4, p. 35: "Babylonia is esteemed by the Hebrews as the home from which their ancestors migrated."

where dwell the father and dependants of the speaker, and where he has himself taken root, though his cradle may not have stood there. Harran was a second home to Abram by reason of the settlement of his family there, though he was not himself born in the place. LXX. (Acts vii. 2) translate וּמִמּוֹלַדְתְּךָ, *καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου*; but though מולדת, blood-relationship, Esth. viii. 6, may mean, as at Esth. ii. 10, 20, descent, and Gen. xlviii. 6, posterity, it yet has in combination with מארצך a local sense (birth-place, home). The land which Jahveh has in mind for Abram is as yet left indefinite. The pilgrimage which he is to enter upon is a work of faith, which, renouncing self and every creature, obeys the Divine impulse and direction. With this obedience is combined the fulfilment of great promises, ver. 2: *And I will make of thee a great nation and bless thee and make thy name great, and be thou a blessing.* The Divine address advances from simple futures through the cohortative to the imperative, as the strongest expression of the Divine purpose of grace—*vehjeh berachah* is a recapitulatory inference from the preceding promises: he becomes a blessing in himself and to others, in that God blesses him and makes his name great, so that he is universally acknowledged and esteemed as blessed (Zech. viii. 13; comp. Isa. xix. 24). The verse divider stands in the right place. Abram becomes a source of blessing, from whom the blessing with which he is himself filled flows onwards. The personal blessing imparted to him has a universal purpose. How it is to go forth from Abram to others is told, ver. 3: *And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that despiseth thee, and in thee shall all families of the earth bless themselves.* The Targums falsely translate בְּךָ, *propter te;* it means *in te=per te,* not merely secondary cause, but mediatorship. Abram becomes a mediator of blessings for those in his neighbourhood, in that they, while acknowledging him as blessed of God, are themselves blessed, and for those remote in time or place, in that the report of Abram's blessing impels them to desire to share it. וְקַלֵּל

(prop. *vilipendere*) was the more appropriate word for the blasphemous cursing of men, אָרַר (on which see rem. on iii. 14) for the judicial infliction of a curse on the part of God. And how significant is it, that they who bless are spoken of in the plural, and they who curse only in the singular! They who curse are only individuals who isolate themselves from that humanity which is destined to inherit the blessing. In 3*b* the development of the mediatorship of blessing awarded to the patriarch is continued. The thought here expressed being however, the *Niph.* is understood, already intimated in ver. 2, we cannot agree with Kautzsch and Köhler, that the reflexive meaning: they shall bless themselves in (with) thee, produces a tautology. The series of these promises which is Jahvistic throughout is: xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14. In these parallels to our passage we have in the place of בְּךָ, now בְּזַרְעֶךָ, now בְּךָ וּבְזַרְעֶךָ, and in the place of the thrice repeated *Niphal* וְנִבְרְכוּ, the *Hithpael* וְהִתְבָּרְכוּ twice, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4. The change shows that the *Niphal* is meant to be taken in a reflexive sense, though Kimchi (and also Aben Ezra) thinks he must take the *Hithpa.* reflexively and the *Niph.* passively, but only because, as Efôdi (1403) justly points out, he misconceives the originally reflexive nature of the *Niph.* Since the language possesses in בֹּרַךְ an unambiguous passive of בָּרֵךְ, *e.g.* Num. xxii. 6, Ps. xxxvii. 22, the *Niph.* occurring only in this promise will be the synonym of the *Hithpa.* with which it is exchanged. The ἐνευλογηθήσονται of the LXX. adopted in the New Testament (comp. Wisd. xliv. 21) does not decide the question. The *Hithpa.* has the meaning of an operation of the subject upon itself. It means to wish oneself a blessing, Deut. xxix. 19, with ב, to wish oneself the blessing which proceeds from any one: ביהוה, Isa. lxv. 16, Jer. iv. 2, or which any one possesses, xlviii. 20, or both at once; viz. which any one possesses and causes, Ps. lxxii. 17 (compare the passages in an opposite sense, Ps. cii. 9; Isa. lxv. 15; Jer. xxix. 22). We accordingly explain the *Niph.* also: God will bless those whom Abraham blesses,

and it shall come to pass that at last all the families of the earth shall wish and seek to participate in the blessing of which he is the vehicle, which is the same as to say that they shall be actually blessed in him. For that God will bless those who recognise Abram as blessed and rejoice in his blessing, immediately precedes, and the *benedictio voti et desiderii* and the *benedictio rei et effectus* are always according to the order of salvation involved in each other. The seed of the patriarchs is Israel (Ps. cv. 6), which according to Isa. xix. 24, Zech. viii. 13, comp. Jer. iv. 2, is to be a blessing for the whole earth, but it reaches its climax in Messiah the King, Ps. lxxii. 17—Jesus the Christ is the aim of both the seed of the patriarch, Gal. iii. 16, and of the woman, iii. 15.

The first act of Abram's obedient faith, ver. 4: *And Abram went, as Jahveh commanded him, and Lot went with him, and Abram was seventy-five years old when he departed from Harran.* Here is at once seen the true nature of Abram, which makes him the father of all believers. Jahveh has commanded, he replies by the obedience of faith, he acts blindly according to God's directions, commending himself to His guidance. His age is so exactly stated, because of the new period in the history of salvation which dates from this point. A more exact statement of those who went with him, ver. 5: *And Abram took Sarai his wife and Lot his brother's son, and all their property which they had made their own and the souls they had gotten in Harran, and they departed to go to the land of Canaan, and came to the land of Canaan.* The mode of expression is quite like xlvi. 6, and especially like xxxvi. 6 (comp. עָשָׂה, xxxi. 1). The living and personal are distinguished from the dead and material possessions by נֶפֶשׁ and רְכוּשׁ,[1] the denominative רכשׁ (to acquire) is found in the Old Testament exclusively in *Q*. נֶפֶשׁ means the persons of the slaves (comp. Lev. xxii. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 13); the slave

[1] Paul Haupt combines this word, Ass. *rukusu*, with רֶכֶשׁ (רִכְשָׁא), in the assumed original meaning riding animal, and in property consisting of such (*Hebraica*, 1887, p. 110).

is in the Israelite view more than *res*, the Ulpianic *servus vel animal aliud* could not be said, for the slave too is אָדָם, Num. xvi. 32. Abram and those who followed him went to Canaan, while Terah, who at first also intended to accompany them, remained behind in Harran. Entrance into Canaan, ver. 6: *And Abram went through the land as far as the place of Sichem, as far as the Terebinth of Moreh, and the Canaanite was then in the land.* Without knowing that Canaan was the land intended by Jahveh, he passed through it to the quarter of the subsequent Sichem (xxxiv. 2) (מְקוֹם שְׁכֶם, like Ex. iii. 8, *J*, therefore not like the Arab. *maḳâm*, holy place), on which account Eupolemus says (in Eus. ix. 17), *ξενισθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πόλεως ἱερὸν Ἀργαριζίν*, and indeed as far as to the terebinth, or according to Deut. xi. 30, the terebinths, of Moreh, where he rested. The LXX. has for אֵיל, xiv. 6, אֵלָה, xxxv. 4, and אֵלָה, Josh. xxiv. 26, *τερέβινθος*; and for אלן (without difference of vocalization), *δρῦς*, oak (like Syr. Saad.), for which may be cited that Josh. xix. 33, Judg. iv. 11, interchange אַלּוֹן and אֵלוֹן, but against it, that אֵלוֹן, Judg. ix. 6, certainly denotes the same tree as, xxxv. 4, אֵלָה, and Josh. xxiv. 26, אֵלָה. Now the meaning oak being secured to אַלּוֹן by אַלּוֹנֵי בָשָׁן, and also the meaning terebinth to אֵלָה by Isa. vi. 13, we range אֵלוֹן and אֵיל with אֵלָה as three names of the terebinth, and אֵלָה with אַלּוֹן as two names of the oak; hence the vocalization in one of each of the two passages, Josh. xxiv. 26, Judg. ix. 6, and Josh. xix. 33, Judg. iv. 11, is inaccurate. Perhaps the appellation itself vacillated (like that of lead and tin, of basalt and iron), for the native evergreen oak species of Asia and North Africa and the terebinths resemble each other in the greyish green of their foliage and in their furrowed dark grey barks, and the appellations אלה, אלן ⁄ אל, آل (comp. وال) suit both trees in respect of their strong trunks and hard wood. In Aramaic אִילָן has become the word for a tree in general, as *δρῦς* also is said to have originally designated *πᾶν ξύλον καὶ δένδρον*, and has returned to this general meaning in the Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Old Northern and

English (*tree*).[1] The remark, 6*b*, means to say, that the country, and indeed the inland part, was not without owners and inhabitants. Hence Abram was wandering about in it as a stranger, and could not as yet call a foot's-breadth of it his own. The אָז points to a subsequent alteration of this state of things. That it had come to pass in the time of the narrator does not, though probable, necessarily result from the אז; this probability however becomes a certainty through the fact that all the three sources from which the Pentateuch is compiled belong to the period after the taking possession of the land. The land was in the possession of the Canaanites, but Abram was in spirit to see in it his inheritance, ver. 7: *And Jahveh appeared to Abram, and said: To thy seed will I give this land; and there he built an altar to Jahveh, who appeared unto him.* This is, apart from iii. 8, the first Theophany related in Holy Scripture. Here for the first time is the revelation of God accompanied by His rendering Himself visible. This word of God at the terebinth of Moreh is the first foundation of Israel's legal right to Canaan. From that time forth Abram knew that Canaan was the Promised Land, and he erected upon the soil, hallowed by the appearing and promise of God, an altar as a memorial consecrated to him (see the art. "Altar" in Riehm's *HW.*). He could not however remain at this place of revelation; the great household and quantity of cattle for which the nomadic chief had to provide required change of settlement, ver. 8: *And he went forth from thence to the mountain east of Bethel and pitched his tent, Bethel on the west and Ai on the east, and built there an altar to Jahveh and preached the name of Jahveh.* The expression וַיַּעְתֵּק, he made a start, started again, occurs with וַיִּסַּע only here and xxvi. 22. אָהֳלֹה for אָהֳלוֹ is the much older manner of writing the suffix contracted from *ahu*. He

[1] In the Targums (Samar. Jer.) אלון (איל, xiv. 6) is, like בעל in names of places, translated by מֵישָׁר (plain); see Dillmann, "On Baal with the feminine article (ἡ Βάαλ)," p. 19 of the separate impression of this Academical Discourse taken from the collection of the Discourses of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences.

pitched so that Bethel (the subsequently so-called בֵּיתְאֵל everywhere, according to the Masorah, as *e.g.* in the ancient French Codex in the Leipsic town library, to be written as one word) lay on the west and ʿAi on the east, for Bethel and ʿAi are neighbouring places, Ezra ii. 28 ; the former, the present *Bêtîn*, lay east of ʿAi, the latter therefore in the neighbourhood of the present large village of *Dêr Dîwân* (Bädeker, p. 216). Having hallowed this resting-place also by the erection of an altar, and by here in the silence of the mountain solemnly calling upon and proclaiming the name of Jahveh, *i.e.* (see on iv. 26) performing Divine worship, he continued his wanderings, ver. 9 : *And Abram departed, going farther and farther towards the south.* He continued to go southward, viz. to the south of Canaan lying towards Arabia Petræa (see xx. 1). "The employment of the word נֶגֶב (dryness, drought) for south is, like that of יָם for west, a purely Palestinian usage of language" (Dillm. ; comp. Vatke, *Einl.* 387).

SARAI'S PRESERVATION IN EGYPT, XII. 10—20.

The call of Abraham is now followed by a matter redounding to God's honour but to Abram's dishonour. Genesis contains three narratives of the kind. Sarai was twice (chs. xii., xx.) and Rebecca once (ch. xxvi.) compromised by the patriarchs, conscious of the attraction which the charms of their wives would exercise upon the heathen sovereigns, letting them pass for their sisters. God however interposed, and did not suffer the degradation, by which these women would have forfeited their destination to become the ancestresses of the chosen race, to take place. The narrator in xii. and xxvi. is *J*, who is thus convinced that an occurrence similar to that with Abram and Sarai took place in the case of Isaac and Rebecca. On the other hand, the style of statement in ch. xx. is unmistakeably that of the older Elohist (*E*), and the supposition is suggested that the two preservations of Sarai are two different

forms of tradition of one and the same occurrence. Here in ch. xii. Sarai is still of an age at which her abduction would be indeed strange but not inconceivable; but in ch. xx. she had reached, according to the connection in which the story stands, her 90th year, and exceeded the period of susceptibility for sexual affection. Hence ch. xx. may originally have occupied a different position in the life of Abram. On the contrary, it cannot be inferred, at least with certainty, that ch. xii. originally stood after the departure of Lot related in ch. xiii., from the fact that the latter is not mentioned, xii. 10 sq., as the companion of Abram, and that in both xii. 8 and xiii. 3 the scene is the district of Bethel, for not before ch. xiii. was it necessary to say that he was הֹלֵךְ אֶת־אַבְרָם. It is enough for us to know, that the three stories are three traditions furnished by ancient sources, that the redactor deserves our thanks for not suppressing one in favour of another, and that all three display the Divine grace and faithfulness, which renders the disturbance of its plan of salvation by human weakness and sin harmless, nay, even serviceable to its accomplishment.

The faith which Abram evinced by obeying the injunction of God is quickly put to the test. God seems to take away again what He had just given, ver. 10: *And there was a famine in the land, and Abram went down to Egypt to sojourn there, for the famine was sore in the land.* A famine (רָעָב, so called from extent and emptiness, the opposite of the *plenus venter* related with רחב), the first occurring in the patriarchal history, xxvi. 1, constrains him immediately to leave the land promised to him and to go down to Egypt for fear of starvation (יָרַד, the standing word for the journey from the hilly district of Canaan to Egypt, the land of the Nile valley, as עָלָה is of the journey back to Canaan), to tarry there for a time (גּוּר, to sojourn as a guest, or a resident under protection of government). Previous agreement with Sarai, vv. 11–13: *And it came to pass, when he was near to enter Egypt, he said to Sarai his wife: Behold now, I know that thou art a woman fair to look upon: and it shall come to pass when the Egyptians see thee, and shall think: this is*

his wife, they will kill me and leave thee alive. Say, I pray thee, that thou art my sister, that it may be well with me for thy sake, and that my soul may live because of thee. The combination הִקְרִיב לָבוֹא must be judged of according to Ges. § 142. 2. Abram, about to enter Egypt, settles with Sarai, as had been, according to xx. 13, agreed upon between them before their departure for Canaan, that she, who was his half-sister (see on xi. 29), should say she was his sister (*or. obliqua* without כִּי, Ges. § 155. 4*c*), lest he should be killed for the sake of the more easily seizing upon her, his wife, who was fair to look upon. The style of *J* is here recognisable by the Jahvistico-Deuteronomic בְּגָלָל and the exclusively Jahvistic הִנֵּה־נָא, 11*b*, with which the premiss of the request urged by a twofold נָא opens, ver. 13. The *perf. consec.* וְהָיָה is the first stroke of the apodosis, which begins with וְהָרְגוּ, like xxx. 41, xxxviii. 9; 1 Sam. xvi. 23; Amos vii. 2. Sarai, as appears from xvii. 17, comp. xii. 4, was then 65 years old; but as she lived to be 127, xiii. 1, she was still in middle life, and not having been weakened by child-bearing, her beauty had not yet faded away; moreover the Egyptian women, although the monumental paintings give them a paler red than the men, were by no means of so fair a complexion as the Asiatic Shemitess. The moral corruption which Abram, ver. 12, assumes in Egypt is also acknowledged elsewhere. He hopes not only for safety, but for prosperity, from Sarai's saying that she is his sister. Hence he is inclined to sacrifice his wife's conjugal honour and fidelity to his self-preservation and maintenance, at all events he prepares himself for being obliged to do so. On this account Faustus the Manichæan calls him *famosissimus nundinator.* Augustine (*c. Faustum,* xxii. 3) replies: *Indicavit sororem, non negavit uxorem; tacuit aliquid veri, non dixit aliquid falsi.* But it is no excuse for him that he is able, not untruly, to call Sarai his אָחוֹת; he acts shrewdly, but through weakness of faith immorally. We now further learn that the Egyptians were really captivated by Sarai's beauty, for she went unveiled, as did also the

Egyptian women down to the time of the Persian dominion, and that she was taken to Pharaoh's harem, vv. 14, 15: *And it came to pass when Abram was come into Egypt, that the Egyptians saw the woman that she was very fair. And the princes of Pharaoh saw her and praised her to Pharaoh, and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house.* Such pandering on the part of courtiers is old and universal; Ebers relates an example from the Papyrus d'Orbeney. The royal name פַּרְעֹה is, since de Rougé, explained as the great house = *pher-āo* (*per-āo*); and according to Horapollo, i. 62, ὄφις καὶ οἶκος μέγας ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ, is actually the hieroglyph of the βασιλεὺς κοσμοκράτωρ, which has been confirmed. But Josephus and Eusebius are not wrong when they say that the name means ὁ βασιλεύς. *Ouro* really means the king, then the king-serpent (ὁ βασιλίσκος), the inseparable royal attribute; and in a more recent period of the language the Pharaonic name seems (comp. Schwartze, *Koptische Gramm.* p. 240) to have been understood exactly as the name of the king = *pi-ouro* (*ph-ouro*), according to which it is also Hebraized with reference to פָּרַע (Judg. v. 2: duke, or he who stands at the head of the people). Josephus calls the Pharaoh of Abram Φαραώθης, Artapanos in Euseb. *Præp.* ix. 18, Φαρεθώνης. That which Abram aimed at now takes place, ver. 16: *And he treated Abram well for her sake, and he had sheep and oxen and asses, and male slaves and female slaves, and she-asses and camels.* Rich presents are made him, which he receives without objection, thereby increasing his fault. The male and female slaves do not stand in the place suitable to them. Horses are not mentioned, nor do they appear on monuments till the time of the Hyksos. The camel however (ancient Egyp. *ḳamāar*, *ḳamāal*, Coptic *ćamoul*, *ćamaul*), is nowhere represented upon Egyptian monuments, nor even mentioned in ancient records (see *Æg. Zeitschr.* 1864, p. 21), so that the mention of camels in this passage is surprising.[1] Sheep on

[1] On horses and camels in Egypt and on the monuments, see Brugsch, *Wanderung nach den Natronklöstern*, 1855, p. 43 sq.; *Die äg. Gräberwelt*, 1868,

the contrary are already found on the monuments of the twelfth dynasty, and asses were still earlier bred in herds. The asses of Egypt were proverbially the largest, finest and strongest. It was a rich and costly present that was thus bestowed upon the brother of the fair Asiatic. Jahveh now interposes and saves the woman thus compromised, who was destined to become the mother of the son of promise, vv. 17–19: *And Jahveh plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife. And Pharaoh called Abram and said: What hast thou done unto me? Why didst thou not tell me that she was thy wife? Why saidst thou to me: She is my sister? and I took her to me to wife— now then behold thy wife, take her and go.* The verb נִגַּע appears here, where it is construed according to the *schema etymologicum*, as denominative, but according to 2 Kings xv. 5 such is not the case. Antiquity was religious, hence Pharaoh sees in the scourges inflicted on him and his, the consequences of the last increase of his female court. He may have questioned Sarai herself, and she have been no longer able to deceive him as to the fact of her being Abram's wife. He gives her back to him with reproaches, and has him conveyed to a distance, ver. 20: *And Pharaoh charged men concerning him, and they escorted him and his wife and all that belonged to him.* No insulting transport is here intended by שִׁלַּח, προπέμπειν; Pharaoh desired indeed to appease the wrath of God, but certainly to send at the same time the cause of it out of his sight. Abram might have excused himself, but is silent, and thereby with shame and penitence condemns himself. The story itself thus carries into effect the strictest moral verdict. Prophecy shows no anxiety in acknowledging such transgressions on the part of the patriarchs, Isa. xliii. 27, xlviii. 8. The fact however is related to us, not so much for Abram's dishonour as for God's glory, who, as he called the

p. 14, and Ebers' art. "Ægypten" in Riehm's *HW.*, according to which the camel was hardly introduced into Egypt before the close of the third century before Christ. Pietschmann, in opposition to Wiedemann, accuses the author of Gen. xii. 16 and Ex. ix. 3 of ignorance.

ancestor of Israel out of heathenism, so also protected the ancestress of Israel in the hands of the heathen from the desecration of that body, from which the sacred nation was to proceed (Ps. cv. 13–15). Thus this second portion stands side by side with the first; the same grace which there prevents Abraham here protects Sarai.

ABRAM'S SEPARATION FROM LOT, CH. XIII.

Ch. xiii., the third portion of the first section, relates Abram's self-denying, peaceable behaviour towards Lot, and the more definite and repeated promise made him of the future possession of the land. The narrator is *J*, he is to be recognised by the reference to the Paradisaic history, 10*b*, by the promise of descendants as innumerable as the dust of the earth, vv. 14–17, comp. xxviii. 14, and by the notification of a solemn act of worship at the resting-place of the journey, 4*b*. We could not agree to the inference that the history of Sarai's preservation originally stood after that of the separation of Abraham and Lot, and hence the close connection of ch. xiii. with xii. 10 sqq. also speaks for its belonging to *J*. The mention of Lot, which there would have been useless, was here, xiii. 1 and farther on, necessary. But that vv. 6, 11*b*, 12 are passages inserted from *Q* may be regarded as proved since Hupfeld (*Quellen*, pp. 21–24); this is placed beyond doubt by comparing xxxvi. 7 and xix. 9. These two verses and a half might be removed without damage to the connection. וַיֵּלֶךְ לְמַסָּעָיו also is in the style of *Q*, comp. Ex. xvii. 1; Num. x. 2, 12; this expression, so very appropriate after ver. 2, may have been inserted from *Q* in the text of *J*. Abram leaves Egypt, vv. 1–4: *And Abram went up out of Egypt, he and his wife and all that was his, and Lot with him, to the south land. And Abram was very rich in cattle, silver and gold. And he went in journeys from the south land even to Bethel, to the place where his tent had stood at the beginning between Bethel and ʿAi. To the place of the altar,*

which he built there at first. And Abram preached there the name of Jahveh. Accompanied as formerly by Lot (xii. 5), he goes up again from the Nile valley to the neighbouring south of Canaan, much encumbered, rich in cattle (the article is comprehensive of the species, Ges. § 109, note 1), silver and gold (*pecus* and *pecunia*, though not yet coined), and from the Negeb he went on לְמַסָּעָיו, "according to (in) his settings out," *i.e.* by stations (halting-places in military diction), as he was able and saw fit as far as Bethel (וְעַד with the ו drawing a line of connection from the point of departure to that at which he aimed), and indeed as far as the district between Bethel and ʿAi, where he had built an altar (the second), xii. 4, at his first sojourn. Here in the mountain solitude, which had become dear to him, he again performed as formerly a solemn act of family worship. The relative sentence is not continued with וַיִּקְרָא, but the repetition of the subject calls attention to the beginning of a new sentence; the series, iv. 26, xii. 8, is here continued. The reason and occasion of Lot's separation, vv. 5–7: *And Lot also, who was travelling with Abraham, had sheep and oxen and tents. And the land could not bear them that they should dwell together, for their property was become great, and they could not dwell together. And there was strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle. And the Canaanite and the Pherizzite dwelt then in the land.* In אֹהָלִים (for אֲהָלִים, according to Ges. § 93. 6. 3) are included also the people dwelling in the tents (Arab. أَهْل). The land did not afford sufficient nourishment for so much cattle, nor space for the free movement of the people. נָשָׂא, ver. 6, is masculine in form before הָאָרֶץ, like Isa. ix. 18, lxvi. 8; Zech. xiv. 10; Ps. cv. 30. Ver. 6 is recurrently constructed like ii. 2, vi. 9, xxxv. 12; the expression is like xxxvi. 7. Hence there arose a strife between the herdmen of Abram and Lot; for they not only straitened each other, but were also straitened by the Canaanite and Perizzite then possessing the land—a remark needed for illustrating the

state of affairs. הַכְּנַעֲנִי sufficed for the mention of the population of the country at xii. 6, here as well as at xxxiv. 30 הַפְּרִזִּי (see on x. 16 sq.) is added. Abram's proposals for peace, vv. 8, 9: *And Abram said to Lot: I pray thee let there be no strife between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen, for we are brother men. Is not the whole land open to thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if to the left, I will turn to the right; and if to the right, I will turn to the left.* The combination אֲנָשִׁים אַחִים is appositional, like Num. xxii. 14. Not only a brother, but a brother's son, a cousin (a child of brothers) and any near relative is called אח. Abram and Lot were really as the son and grandson of Terah in brotherly relationship. Since then strife between them was unbecoming, Abram, according to the unpleasant but well-proved rule, *divide ut maneat amicitia* (Ambrose), proposes to his nephew a peaceful solution of the inconvenient circumstances (מֵעָלַי, like Ex. x. 28), and in an unselfish and peaceable spirit offers him that priority of choice which was due to himself, the elder, the uncle, and the leader. "Is not the whole land לְפָנֶיךָ," means: is it not at thy disposal, xx. 15, xlvii. 6; 2 Chron. xiv. 6; Cant. viii. 12. הַשְּׂמֹאל and הַיָּמִין are acc. of direction, like x. 11, xii. 15. הֵימִין and הַשְׂמְאִיל, like Isa. xxx. 21, elsewhere הַשְׂמִיל, הַשְׂמְאִיל, are just such local denominatives as the originally equivalent in meaning يمن, to go to Jemen; شام, to go to Syria.

Lot immediately agrees to the separation and chooses for himself the best part of the country, but does so to his great and almost utter ruin, vv. 10–12: *And Lot lifted up his eyes and beheld the whole circuit of the Jordan, that it was well watered land throughout, before Jahveh destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, resembling the garden of Jahveh, the land of Egypt, as far as to Zoar. And Lot chose for himself the whole circuit of the Jordan, and Lot departed eastwards, and they separated one from the other. Abram occupied the land of Canaan, and*

Lot occupied the cities of the district of Jordan and pitched his tent toward Sodom. The name כִּכַּר הַיַּרְדֵּן (1 Kings vii. 46, LXX. Matt. iii. 5, *ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*), or more frequently הַכִּכָּר (12*b*, like xix. 29), was borne by the territory lying on both sides of the Jordan, the valley several leagues broad of Kinnereth or of the lake of Gennesaret down to the valley then known as the valley of Siddim, in which is set the bed of the Jordan (now الغور, depression, lowland, and which as הָעֲרָבָה comprises its continuation as far as the Ælanitic Gulf). This valley, which with its bare plains, its heights like sand-hills, and the rankly luxuriant shrubs which hide the Jordan, now gives a melancholy and sombre impression, was then, at least so far as its southern part reaching down to Zoar (בְּאֹתָהּ, *versus*, like x. 19) is concerned, by reason of its almost tropical climate and still existing abundance of water, as pleasant and fertile, כְּגַן ה׳, LXX. *ὡς ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ Θεοῦ*. In Isa. li. 3, the garden of Jahveh, once situate in Eden, and in Ezek. xxxi. sq., גַּן אֱלֹהִים, is, as is evident from xxviii. 13, the garden of God in Eden, and hence the Paradise of the primæval world. The ideal comparison thence derived is followed by one more perceptible derived from the present, just as the reverse order is observed Ezek. xiv. 14, where a hero of the past and one of the present is followed by a legendary one. The accentuation nicely inclines the definition of time towards both comparisons, it hovers in the midst and shows itself to be a more recent explanation. The expression is similar to xix. 29*a*). The statement of direction, בְּאֹתָהּ צֹעַר, fixes the southern boundary of the famous district. The Syriac reads צֹעַן (Tanis), and Trumbull (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 251) conjectures that צער is the name of the eastern border-land of Lower Egypt; but comp. x. 19. In vv. 11, 12 from וַיִּפְרְדוּ to עָרֵי הַכִּכָּר (comp. xix. 29*a*) is from *Q*. The text in *J* only furnished: Lot departed eastwards (מִקֶּדֶם, like xi. 2), and pitched his tent (now here, now there) as far as Sodom. And now to prepare for the history of the destruction of Sodom which is to follow, it is remarked, ver. 13:

And the inhabitants of Sodom were wicked, and sinners against Jahveh exceedingly. Not to Jahveh, *i.e.* in His eyes, but לְ, like xx. 6, xxxix. 9; Ps. li. 6. Ezekiel enumerates, xvi. 49, four radical sins of Sodom, and among them is luxury; the occurrence, ch. xix., shows that sins of the flesh were especially current among them, the heat of the climate, the luxuriant fertility (shown by ch. xiv.) and the numerous population of the country all favouring moral degeneration. While Lot exposes himself to the danger of dwelling in such cities, the inland country of Canaan proper between Jordan and the Mediterranean is left to Abram without his interference. Lot now forms of his own choice a lateral branch separated from the race of the promise. Abram is alone, and it is to him, the one (Ezek. xxxiii. 24), that the promise applies. This is now renewed, vv. 14–18: *And Jahveh said to Abram, after Lot's separation from him: Lift up now thine eyes and look from the place where thou art northward and southward and eastward and westward. For the whole land which thou seest, to thee will I give it and to thy seed for ever. And I will make thy seed like the dust of the earth, so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, thy seed also may be numbered. Up, go through the land, long and broad as it is, for I will give it thee.* We expect ויאמר ה' אל־אברם or ואל אברם אמר ה', the existing order places the determining subjects opposite each other: Lot chooses for himself, Jahveh chooses for Abram (comp. Ps. xlvii. 5). By Divine dispensation he has won Canaan anew, its possession is now anew confirmed to him—this is the third among the eight revelations of God in the life of Abram (xii. 1, 7, xiii. 14, xv. 1, xvii. 1, xviii. 1, xxi. 22, xxii. 2), and one of the four revelations in word without an appearance of God. To him and to his posterity, which as yet has neither present nor prospective existence, will God give for an everlasting possession this land lying round about the heights of Bethel in its whole extent, northwards and southwards, eastwards (קֵדְמָה, always with Tsere, as only besides קִדְמָה Judg. iv. 9, with קִדְמָה, ver. 10, like הַפִּתְחָה, xix. 6) and west-

wards (like xxviii. 14). He will make his seed like the dust of the earth (like xxviii. 14; comp. with these two Jahvistic passages, Num. xxiii. 10, the thing promised as it were in miniature) as little to be counted (*ut si quis pulverem terræ cet.*, אֲשֶׁר, like xi. 7, xxii. 14, xxiv. 3, not: *quem pulverem*, in which case לִמְנוֹתוֹ would follow without את־עפר הארץ). He is to walk through the land at his will, joyful through faith, in the consciousness of the claim awarded him. The promise already sounds fuller, more developed, and more capable of appropriation than in the first portion. Abram's settlement, ver. 19: *And Abram moved his tent, and came and dwelt under the Mamre-Terebinths in Hebron, and built there an altar in honour of Jahveh.* In conformity with the invitation, ver. 17, he pitched his tent here and there in the land, ever drawing nearer to his provisional goal (as וַיָּבֹא seems to state), until he settled more permanently in the grove of Terebinths at Mamre (xiv. 13, xviii. 1, comp. xiv. 24), in the district of the ancient Hebron (Num. xiii. 22), where he built an altar to the Lord, the third since his entrance into Canaan (xii. 7, 8), and proclaimed and called upon the name of the God who had anew acknowledged him. Altar and sacrifice nowhere appear in combination except at xxii. 9 in the patriarchal history, the period *ante legem*. This consecrated place became the firm point whence the promise of the possession of the land was realized. Here did the patriarchal family dwell longest and most willingly, and here did they bury their dead. For the cave of Machpelah, of which we shall hear ch. xxiii., lay opposite the אֵלוֹנֵי מַמְרֵא (for which *Q*, xxiii. 17, xxxv. 27 and elsewhere has simply מַמְרֵא), and both belonged to Hebron itself, which in ancient times extended farther than now, and was indeed no hill-city properly so called, but stretched at least to the Rumeidi-mount. Tradition has transposed Mamre to the height of *Râmet el-Chalîl*. There stood an ancient terebinth, which was, under Constantine, enclosed within the walls of a splendid Basilica. The ruins of this Basilica are to be distinguished from the foundation walls of a more ancient

heathen temple visible on the north-west, for these enormous indestructible walls and masses of hewn stone are devoid of any token of ecclesiastical architecture (see Rosen, "The Vale and nearest Surroundings of Hebron," *DMZ.* xii. 477 sqq.). Tradition designates the ruins of the Basilica as "the house of Abraham." But Râmet el-Chalîl lies some miles north of Hebron itself, which is incompatible with the statements concerning the situation of Mamre and the cave of Machpelah.

ABRAM AS A HERO IN THE SERVICE OF PHILANTHROPY AND HIS MEETING WITH MELCHIZEDEK, CH. XIV.

The peaceful history of ch. xiii., which made us acquainted with the pacific disposition of Abram, is now followed by the history of a war, the first met with in Holy Scripture. This first war is a war of conquest, waged for the subjugation of foreign nations and States; the world-empire, which subsequently made Israel also the aim of its conquering power, is here already in course of development. So far as we have already become acquainted with Abram, he has shown himself obedient, thankful, unselfish, submitting to Divine guidance, and, when he has offended by acting independently, penitently returning to his former attitude. We here see his faith, in virtue of which he obtains the victory over self, gathering itself up in God and breaking forth in an act of love that overcomes the world. The leader of flocks appears as a leader of war appears, while aiding kings against kings, in a greatness surpassing them all; for the three dignities, the prophetic, priestly and royal, which are separated in the times of the law, are still united in the patriarchs. It is by means of the progress of Abram's biography that one typical image is connected with another, for ch. xiv. presupposes the separation of Lot from Abram, stands in a connection of sequence with it, and is thus not merely its ethical counterpart, but also its historical continuation.

This fourteenth chapter, with its abundance of else unknown historical and geographical detail, is as unique in the connection in which it is found, as Judg. ix. (on the kingdom of Abimelech) is in the history of the Judges. But even apart from particulars related only here, this ch. xiv. furnishes a completion of a special kind to the picture afforded of the patriarch by what else is related of him. This leads to some special source for what is here related, and we can understand how Knobel at this fourteenth chapter hit upon the conjecture, that the ספר מלחמות ה' (the war-book as he briefly calls it) of Num. xxi. 14 was the document from which the narrator derived this history. He esteems the Jahvist to be the narrator, and we regard this as more correct than to say that it is the older Elohist, who reproduces this history from an ancient source. For this latter opinion, advocated by Dillmann, proceeds from the arbitrary assumption, that the meeting with Melchizedek, vv. 17–20, is a more recent addition worked into the history. For it bears the stamp of equal antiquity, forms the climax and focus of the whole, and contains nothing that tells against its being an essential element of it. When Dillmann infers from the glorification of Salem, *i.e.* Jerusalem, as the scene of the interview between Abram and the venerable priest, that the narrator must have been a Judæan, it may be replied, that according to his view *C* (*J*) as distinguished from *B* (*E*) is shown to be a Judæan book of history. But if vv. 17–20 are not to be lopped off, then the Divine name יהוה, which in ver. 22 is in relation to 19 sq. too characteristic to pass for an insertion, excludes *B*.[1] In favour of *C's* authorship is also the close connection of this history with the preceding, especially with the Jahvistic fundamental component, xiii. 12 sq. It is also *C* who calls Abram's dwelling-place in

[1] Sufficient proofs of any kind of extract from *E* (*B*) previous to ch. xx. are indeed lacking (Kuenen, *Einl.* § 8, note 8). But ch. xx. showing itself to be, not a commencement, but a continuation, it is *à priori* probable that previous to ch. xx. is to be found matter derived from *E* and perhaps entered in *J*, like *e.g.* xv. 2.

Hebron אלוני ממרא (not simply ממרא, like *Q*), xiv. 13, comp. xiii. 18, xviii. 1, and who like the Deuteronomist knows of אדמה and צבוים as towns belonging to the Pentapolis, xiv. 2, 8, comp. x. 19; Deut. xxix. 22, comp. Hos. xi. 8. He may also be recognised by הָעִבְרִי as a surname of Abram (comp. xxxix. 17; Deut. xv. 12 and elsewhere), and by his naming the border town דָּן without addition (like Deut. xxxiv. 1). Nor does בִּלְעַדֵי, xiv. 24, comp. xli. 16, safely lead to *B;* see the Introd. to ch. xli. רָכוּשׁ too, which *A* (*Q*), like all the works of the most recent period of the language, is certainly fond of using, is no specific token of a source, but is found also in the promise, xv. 14, recorded by *C* or *B*, but by no means by *A*, expressing as it does a notion (moveable property, substance, post-biblical מְטַלְטְלִים) for which biblical language has no other word; it is only the verb רכשׁ that is exclusively *A's*. The explanations of names, vv. 2, 7, 8, 17, show that the original passage has been gone through by a more recent hand, who may here and there have also adjusted the language to what was subsequently common usage.

Among critics of the old school, ch. xiv. won so much respect from Ewald, that he was inclined to regard it as a fragment of an ancient Canaanite historical work. Tuch's classical article also on this history in *DMZ.* i. 161 sqq., is pervaded by the conviction, that we have here a historical memoir which speaks for itself; he, like Ewald, regards Salem as the Salumias of the Jordan valley lying beyond Scythopolis. Hupfeld, without entering into any criticism on what is related, considers ch. xiv. as an indivisible whole taken from the Jahvistic work. Hitzig however goes to the extreme of depreciation when he sees in the expedition of Chedorlaomer, which takes place in a fourteenth year, an adumbration of 2 Kings xviii. 13, thrown back into past times, and explains ch. xiv. in general as a more recent legend, which could not have been fashioned into its present form till after Salem was hallowed by the presence of Jahveh (*Gesch.* i. 44 sq.). There is but a fluctuating boundary between a legend of this kind and

literary fiction with a tendency. Nöldeke (*Untersuchungen*, 1869) arrives at the result, that the history, ch. xiv., is throughout the spontaneous creation of its narrator, and the person of Melchizedek a magnificent invention. Ed. Meyer (*Gesch.* § 136) is of the same opinion, only he expresses himself in a far more depreciatory manner. Reuss receives from the whole the impression *d'un enseignement sous la forme de parabole*. Modern Pentateuch criticism, which received its first impulse from Reuss, considers ch. xiv. as one of the most recent portions of Genesis, not inserted till its latest edition, and to which may be applied the epithets awarded to Melchizedek, ἀπάτωρ ἀμήτωρ ἀγενεαλόγητος (Wellhausen, *Composition de Hexateuchs*, i. 415; *Geschichte Israels*, 1878, p. 362). Ed. Meyer draws from it the further conclusion, that the particulars of the narrative are utterly unhistorical, but also that the names of some of the kings being authenticated by cuneiform inscriptions, the author had acquired in Babylon accurate knowledge of the most ancient history of the country, and induced by some unknown motive has interwoven Abram into the history of Kudurlagamar (*Gesch. des Altertums*, i. 1884, § 136); while Hommel in an essay, *Die altbabyl. Schriftdenkmäler als Zeugen für die biblische Wahrheit*, finds the political situation into which ch. xiv. transposes us, as "*aus dem Leib geschnitten*," with regard to Babylonian circumstances after the Elamite conquest. As Diestel already in the *deutschen Jahrb.* xiv. p. 345, so too is Dillmann in favour of the historical character of the expedition and the power of the ancient Elamite kingdom which extended to the Arabah. The central point of the question is the person of Abraham. Dillmann, because he does not agree with the dissolution of the patriarchal legend into cloud and vapour, also judges more justly and moderately concerning what is related in ch. xiv. But when, as by Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, 1883, p. 337 sq.), the historical nature of the person of Abraham is denied, and an inclination shown to regard him as the spontaneous creation of arbitrary invention, the historical nature of the

scenery in which ch. xiv. places him is of no further consequence. The cuneiform authentication proves indeed that the proper names אריוך, אלסר and כדרלעמר, that the figures and colouring of the scenery, are not caught at random; but the verification of such particulars is without any religious interest, if Abraham the ancestor of Israel, who migrated from Ur of Chaldea to Canaan, is a mere phantom and not flesh and blood.

And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of Sin'ar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorla'omer king of Elam, and Tid'al king of Goiim,—thus begins the narrator, ver. 1; and then taking the four thus mentioned genitivally, as also the nominative subjects to the following verb (see on ix. 6*b*, comp. Acts xiv. 2), continues, ver. 2: *They made war with Bera' king of Sodom, and with Birša' king of Gomorrah, ᵛSin'ab king of Admah, and ᵛSemêber king of Zeboïm, and the king of Bela, which is Zoar.* וַיְהִי is followed by the fact aimed at in the perfect, like Ex. xii. 41, 51, xvi. 27, Deut. i. 3, without the perfect being followed, as at xl. 1, by the historical tense, and thereby reduced to the expression of an accessory fact (Driver, § 78). On שִׁנְעָר, *Sumêr*, see xi. 2; Lenormant (*La langue primitive de la Chaldée*, 1875) explains the name אַמְרָפֶל (with an accented ultima, like בָּבֶל, כַּרְמֶל) as Sumerian, but it is contracted from *Amarmuballit*, *i.e.* Amar = Sin (the moon-god), preserves alive; he was at that time the town-king of Babel (Hommel). אַרְיוֹךְ is also shown by inscriptions to be *êri-aku*, *i.e.* servant of the moon-god; a son of the Elamite king Kudur-Mabuk (softened in Hebrew into a segolate form), whom his father made viceroy of Larsam (Friedr. Delitzsch on Baer's *Daniel*, p. 9; *Kossäer*, p. 69). This Larsam (*Paradies*, p. 223), whose town divinity was ᵛSamaš, the present Senkara, a short distance north-westward of Ur, seems to be meant by אֶלְסָר, אלרס having, as Rawlinson first perceived and George Smith further confirmed, shifted into אלסר. The name כְּדָרְלָעֹמֶר (written, according to *Chullin* 64*b* as two words, כְּדָר־לָעֹמֶר,[1]

[1] See my preface to Baer's ed. of the five Megilloth (1886), p. 5.

by Orientals) contains, as has been settled since Oppert, the name of the Susianian deity Lagāmar; Kudur-Mabuk and Kudur-Lagamara are Elymaic kings, who in very ancient times reigned also over subjugated Babylonia (Schrader, *KAT.* 2nd ed. p. 316*b*). Êri-Aku, king of Larsam, is called on inscriptions son of Kudur-Mabuk, and the latter is called "Lord of the Western land," which especially means Palestine. Instead of תִּדְעָל, the LXX. has θαργάλ, explained by Lenormant as *tur-gal* (great son). גּוֹיִם is singular, as the name of a country; Lenormant understands by it the Semitic races of Northern Mesopotamia, and thinks that this גּוֹיִם has been corrupted from the national appellation *Gutî* with the country-determinative *KI* found on inscriptions (see on the other hand *Paradies*, p. 233 sq.). The four names of the kings of the Pentapolis mean, according to Hitzig, "blasphemer, rogue, serpent's tooth, and scorpion's poison;" but this has only the value of a poor witticism. That the names בֶּרַע and בִּרְשַׁע accord in sound with רע and רשע might, instead of being used against their historical nature, be explained, if it were necessary, as a phonetic variation (comp. טָבְאֵל, Isa. vii. 6). The fact that the narrator leaves the fifth king, the king of Bela, unnamed, shows that what he does not know he will not invent. הִיא in the comparison, בֶּלַע=צֹעַר, is one of the eleven היא occurring as Chethib in the Pentateuch. It is not strange to find five kings in so limited a space. Each more important Canaanitish town had, as the book of Joshua shows, its king; the Phœnicians were fond of organizing themselves into small independent kingdoms, united only by alliance. Thus four, and indeed incomparably more powerful kings, took the field against five at the Lower Jordan, ver. 3: *All these marched together towards the valley of Siddim, this is the Salt Sea.* The verb חבר means elsewhere also, *e.g.* Ex. xxvi. 3, "to enter into alliance," and acquires here, by means of אֶל (*adversus*, like Josh. x. 6), the meaning of combined hostile movement towards an object of attack. This is עֵמֶק הַשִּׂדִּים, which is glossed *id est mare salsum*, more accurately: the fertile valley

in which the plain of the Jordan is continued, and which subsequently became the Salt Sea. Onk. Sam. Aq. Saad. translate: field-valley, Symm. Theod. Jer.: forest-valley (*ἀλσῶν*, not *ἁλῶν*), Targ. Jer.: garden-valley, LXX. *τὴν φάραγγα τὴν ἁλυκήν* (perhaps confusing שִׂיד, lime and salt). In Assyr. *šiddê* means a district, and especially a district on a river's bank (*Assyr. Lesestücke*, 3rd ed. p. 146), whence we may explain it as "Valley of the river's bank." Occasion of the expedition, ver. 4: *Twelve years had they* (the five) *served Chedorlaomer, and in the thirteenth year they rebelled.* In ver. 1 the kings are named in alphabetical order; we see here however that it was Kurdurlagamar who was properly the ruler, Judg. iii. 8, of the "Western Land" (Schrader, *KAT.* 136), and who undertook the war. As Israel had in the early period of the Judges been subject for eight years to a Mesopotamian ruler, Judg. iii. 8, so was the Pentapolis twelve years under the dominion of an Elamite sovereign, who had taken possession of the district of the five towns, here placed in the foreground because of Lot's captivity, and of the surrounding countries. The possession of the Arabah, *i.e.* of the great deep-sunken valley to the north and south of the Dead Sea, was of great value to a conqueror of Upper Asia, because "this was the road traced out by nature itself, which, starting from the Elanitic Gulf, and cutting through the great wilderness watered by the Nile and Euphrates, was the means of intercourse between Arabia and Damascus, and because at no great distance from the south-west border of Canaan, and near to the Idumean mountains, is found the point of intersection of the roads that lead from the coast of the Mediterranean to Arabia, and from Middle Egypt to Canaan" (Tuch). After a twelve years' subjection, the five kings revolted in the thirteenth year from their oppressor; שְׁלֹשׁ־עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה is the acc. of time, generally of the duration of time, here of the point of time for וּבִשְׁלֹשׁ־עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה, as the Samar. reading is, or וּבִשְׁנַת שלש־עשרה. The army of the four kings marched along the great road from Damascus and rapidly advanced to the banks of the Jordan,

ver. 5: *And in the fourteenth year Chedorlaomer came, and the kings that were with him, and smote the Rephaim in Aštéroth-Karnaim, and the Zuzim in Ham, and the Emim in the plain of Kiriathaiim.* Ashteroth-Karnaim, the ancient city of the Rephaites (so called according to Schrader from רוּם, to be high), was first smitten. It was named after the עַשְׁתָּרוֹת, worshipped under the image of a horned bull's head, and therefore even then not as the morning star, but as the moon-goddess, and was subsequently the capital of Og. It is mistakenly identified by Wetzstein with Bostra as = בָּעֶשְׁתְּרָה, Josh. xxi. 27, whose ruins, Tell ʿAšterâ, have been discovered in Haurân, $1\frac{3}{4}$ leagues from the ancient Edreï.[1] The next to fall was the town of the Zuzim, called *Ham* (for which Jer. in the *Quæstiones* has חם, *per heth*), perhaps the later Rabbah of the Ammonites, and thence זַמְזֻמִּים = זוּזִים, Deut. ii. 20, in the neighbourhood of the Jabbok; then the Emim (אֵימִים, elsewhere אֵמִים) in the plain (שָׁוֵה with a firm Kametz, and as ver. 17 shows, also a firm *ê* instead of *ä* = *ai*) of *Kirjathaiim*, discovered according to Eus. and Jer. four leagues west of Mêdebâ under the name *Kurêjât*. The Pentapolis was now first of all compassed, and the eastern border of the mountain followed, where the army encountered the Horites, ver. 6: *And* (they smote) *the Horites in their Mount Séʿîr unto Êl Pâran, which is by the wilderness.* Ed. Meyer (*Gesch.* § 136) asserts that the tribes of the Rephaites, Zuzim and Emim never existed. But what of the Horites? For the existence of these primitive inhabitants of the land of Edom being incontestably witnessed to (xxxvi. 20 sqq.; Deut. ii. 12, 22), the three others will be no merely airy forms, especially as they are so accurately defined according to their dwelling-places. The termination of בְּהָרְרָם is a suffix; the interrupted genitive combination, "their mountain of Seir," follows the scheme בריתי יעקב, Lev. xxvi. 42 (see *Psalmen*, 4th ed.

[1] On עַשְׁתָּרוֹת (*plur. eminentiæ*) and עַשְׁתֹּרֶת, Assyr. *ištar*, *ištaritu*, see *DMZ.* xxiv. 650, and Zimmern, *Babyl. Busspsalmen* (1885), pp. 38–40, who approves of Schlottmann's derivation from עשר, to unite (*copulare*).

p. 203). These ancient inhabitants of the Arabah, with their eastern mountains and western desert, seem to have stood in the same relation as the Pentapolis to the Upper Asiatic oppressor. The object of the expedition is perceived by its farthest point, אֵיל פָּארָן אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַמִּדְבָּר, *i.e. El-* (*Ail-*) *Pâran*, situate in front of the wilderness, viz. at the eastern entrance of the wilderness of Pharan (see on xxi. 21). Such is the name here given to *Ailat* on the northern bend of the so-called Ailanitic Gulf, and regarded down to the Middle Ages as of strategic and commercial importance (see Quatremère's history of this town in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1835, pp. 44–53). The Targums, Sam. Jer. the Arabic translators, Luth. translate אֵיל, plain (see the note on xii. 6), in opposition to which Syr. Aq. Symm. Theod. take אֵיל as the name of a tree; and certainly the changing Hebrew and Greek forms of the name: אֵלָה, אֵילַת, אֵילוֹת: *Αἰλών, Αἴλανα, Ἔλανα, Αἴλανον*, speak for the meaning terebinth or (as collective sing. to אֵילִים, Isa. i. 20 and elsewhere) terebinth wood. Arabian geographers indeed, as well as modern travellers, speak only of palm-woods in the neighbourhood of Ailat; perhaps אֵלִים (אֵילִים) was in connection with the ancient cultivation of trees an ancient name of the תְּמָרִים, palm (see Ex. xv. 27).[1] Having now arrived at the extreme southern point of the plan of their campaign, the confederates turned round, ver. 7: *And they turned and came to ʿÊn Mišpat, which is Kadeš, and smote all the country of the Amalekites, and also the Emorites that dwelt in Hazazôn Tamar.* The name עֵין מִשְׁפָּט, well of decision, which as we here learn was formerly borne by the Kadesh of the Mosaic history, shows that the sanctity of an ancient oracle adhered to it. Robinson identified Kadesh with *Ain el-Weibe*, the chief watering-place of the Arabs in the Edomite mountains lying west of the Arabah. *Ain Ḳudeis*, on the western declivity of the Azâzime plateau, seems preferable. See Trumbull, "A visit to ʿAin Qadis, the supposed site of

[1] See A. Hahmann, The Date-palm, its Name and its Veneration by the Ancient World. An essay in the *Bonplandia*, 1859, Nos. 15, 16.

Kadesh-Barnea," in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, and his illustrated work, *Kadesh-Barnea: its Importance and Probable Site*, New York, 1884. Wetzstein thinks he has discovered it in *Ḳâdûs*, a day's journey south of Hebron within the wilderness, which terminates at the Ṣin-Walle; but this Ḳâdûs, testified by Maḳdisî, would be too near to the southern border of the Holy Land, not to mention other objections (see Köhler, *Gesch.* i. 117 sq.). Arrived at Kadesh through the wilderness, the confederates "smote all the country of the Amalekites," *i.e.* the portion of this wild and dangerous primitive people (see on xxxvi. 12) settled in the northern part of the *Tih* westward of Kadesh, whose subjugation was demanded by the object of the undertaking, and likewise the Emorites in *Ḥazâzon-Tamar*. This חֲצָצֹן תָּמָר is, according to 2 Chron. xx. 2, ʿEngedi on the western side of the Dead Sea; *Engaddum*—says Pliny, *H. N.* v. 17—*oppidum fuit secundum ab Hierosolymis fertilitate palmetorumque nemoribus.* חצצון, *amputatio*, is the name for the artificial fertilization of the female date-palm by the insertion of a cut-off stalk laden with male flowers into the flower sheath of the female. Hence the name is the equivalent for palm cultivation.[1] Knobel combines Hazazon Tamar, not with Engedi, but with תָּמָר, Ezek xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28, *Thamaro, Thamara*, on the road from Hebron to Aila, because, he says, Engedi was too far north But this reason does not outweigh the testimony of the chronicler. The confederates having also smitten the Amorites, who awaited their attack in the impassable rocky district still called *ʿAin ʾGedî*, turned thence to *ʿGôr* to chastise the revolted Pentapolis, vv. 8, 9: *And there went out the king of Sodom and the king of Gomorrah and the king of Admah and the king of Zeboïm and the king of Belaʿ, which is Zoar, and set the battle in array against them in the valley of Siddim. Against Chedorlaʿomer king of Elam and Tidʿal king of Goïim and Amraphel king of Shinʿar and Ariveh king*

[1] See Theob. Fischer, *Die Dattelpalme*, 1881, and Nöldeke on this work in the *GGA.* 1881, p. 1222 sqq.

of Ellasar—four kings against the five. The names of the four kings are here given in like copulation as at ver. 1, but in reverse order. The closing words are intended to call attention, by way of an exclamation (comp. John vi. 71), to the unequal and decisive battle. Overthrow of the Pentapolitans, ver. 10: *And the valley of Siddim was full of bitumen springs, and the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled and fell into them, and the rest fled to the mountains.* Originally מלך סדם ומלך עמרה (LXX. Samar.) certainly stood instead of מלך סדם ועמרה. The king of Sodom being still alive at ver. 17, it is not so much the persons of the kings themselves as their followers who are intended. The two kings were the most important. With their flight the overthrow was decisive. The troops for the most part sank in the numerous excavations which, at the time when the Siddim valley was not yet swallowed up by the Salt Sea, were still to be seen, and from which naphtha or earth-oil, *i.e.* fluid asphalt or bitumen, flowed. These asphalt pits are now covered by the waters of the Salt Sea; but on the occasion of earthquakes enormous pieces of pure asphalt (the "Jews'-pitch," so highly appreciated in the Middle Ages) make their appearance on the surface torn from the bed of the sea; elsewhere they would sink, but here the salt and even bituminous water, by reason of its greater specific gravity, bears them up (Furrer in Schenkel's *BL.*). The custom of the language distinguishes בְּאֵר, well-spring, from בּוֹר, pit, and especially rain-water pit (see Hitzig on Jer. vi. 7). The combination *φρέατα φρέατα* (*ἀσφάλτου*), as the LXX. may originally have run, is a co-ordination like Deut. xvi. 20; Joel iv. 14; comp. the genitival subordination, Job xx. 17; Ps. lxviii. 34. Those Pentapolitans who escaped death by the sword or by sinking, escaped הָרָה, towards the mountain (= *harrah* instead of the more usual הָהָרָה), *i.e.* to the defiles of the Moabite mountains. The victorious army returned laden with prey, vv. 11, 12: *And they took all the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their store of provision, and departed. And they took Lot and his goods, Abram's*

brother's son, and departed, and he dwelt in Sodom. The victors, for the sake of chastising and weakening the re-subjugated kings, plundered the two most important towns, and Abram's nephew who dwelt in Sodom was thus taken captive. The text of ver. 12 has fallen into disorder. The apposition should come after לוט, and the explanatory sentence before וילכו. With this booty they retired along the valley of the Jordan,[1] vv. 13, 14: *And there came one that had escaped, and told it to Abram the ʿIbri; and he dwelt under the terebinths of Mamre the Emorite, the brother of Eškol and the brother of ʿAner, and these were confederates of Abram. Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, and he led forth his men trained to arms, who were born in his house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued as far as Dan.* Abram is called הָעִבְרִי, not as the man from Jordan (Stade, Ed. Meyer), but as one who migrated מֵעֵבֶר הַנָּהָר, from the other side of the Euphrates, LXX. ὁ περάτης, Aq. περαϊτης, Jer. *Transeuphratensis* (see on xi. 6). הַפָּלִיט (comp. Ezek. xxiv. 26 sq., xxxiii. 21 sq.) answers to the Arabic فَلَّ, which also signifies him, or collectively those who escaped. The expression, בַּעֲלֵי בְרִית, means the confederates (comp. בַּעַל בְּרִית, Baal of the covenant, Judg. ix. 4; Baal as the god of the covenant, *ibid.* ix. 46), different from בני ברית (Acts iii. 25), which means those standing in similar covenant relation. אח has here, as the repetition וְאַחֵי shows, the vague sense of a near relative. וְהֵם refers, as ver. 24 shows, to all three. To save Lot, Abram drew forth (like the sword from its scabbard, Ex. xv. 9; Lev. xxvi. 33, or the spear from the δουροδόκη, Ps. xxxv. 3) 318 חֲנִיכָיו, of his men dedicated or trained (to the profession of arms), viz. יְלִידֵי בֵיתוֹ, (slaves) born in his house, *i.e.* not first purchased (xii. 5, xvii. 12, 23). The LXX. translates ἠρίθμησε after the reading וַיִּדֹּק (Samar.), he

[1] Comp. on the contrary the Excursus on Zoar in *Genesis*, p. 565: "The eastern coast of the Dead Sea has never had a road; on Seetzen's caprice: scrambling forwards to come there, see Burckhardt's *Syrien*, p. 661."

carefully mustered. (Black) slaves born within the tribe itself are still regarded for their attachment and bravery as the stay and prop of the tribe, and are called فِدَاوِيَّة, they who surrender their lives as a ransom (פִּדְיוֹן). With these troops he surprised the army which had already reached Dan at the north-eastern border of Canaan, ver. 15: *And he divided himself against them by night, he and his servants, and smote them and pursued them to Hobah, which is on the north of Damascus.* He surprised the army, intoxicated with success and expecting no enemy on its rear, by night, and in separate detachments, and pursued it to Hobah, which lies very near, and northward of Damascus. Recovery of the booty, ver. 16: *And he brought back all the goods, and also Lot his brother and his goods brought he back, and the women also, and the people.* That a large army, suddenly surprised by a small band, can be put to flight is shown, *e.g.*, by the history of Gideon (Judg. vii.); besides, the host encamped at Dan need not be regarded as the entire army. The reason why דָּן, which was formerly called לַיִשׁ or לֶשֶׁם, and did not receive this name till after its conquest by the Danites (Josh. xix. 47; Judg. xviii. 29), is thus named without further comment in a narrative elsewhere so free from anticipations, must certainly be that the gloss has in this instance supplanted the name glossed. For what other Dan could here be intended than this north-eastern border city? When Joseph. *Ant.* i. 10. 1, says: *οὗτος ἡ ἑτέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου προσαγορεύεται πηγή*, thus much is true, that one of the three sources of the Jordan is actually at Dan, now *Tell el-Kâdi* (which is the same as תֵּל דָּן), another at Paneas (*Bâniâs*),[1] a third at Hasbeia; and the first is now called *el-Leddân*, and regarded as the main source of the Jordan (*Socin-Bädeker*, p. 279). The most ancient Jewish glosses also point to the neighbourhood of the

[1] Here springs forth from a cave now almost filled up with rubbish the source of the Jordan, as the Sebene-Suh, a source of the Tigris (Assyr. *rês êni sa nâr Diklat*), does from a grotto on the road to Erzeroum (see Schrader on the Cuneiform inscriptions of this grotto, 1885).

sources of the Jordan, by explaining דָּן by פמיים (Paneas) or דן דקסריון (Cæsarea Philippi); comp. Burchardus, *de Monte Sion*, xi. 12: *Dan quæ nunc Belenas* (i.e. *Banias*) *dicitur sive Cæsarea Philippi.* There was also somewhere a דָּן יַעַן, 2 Sam. xxiv. 6; but to understand it as this when the addition יען is absent, and to place it accordingly, is both unnecessary and unjustified. Nor can a second more north-westerly Cœlesyrian Dan-Laiish-Leshem (Reggio, Schultz and others) be admitted, for the valley *Bêth-Reḥôb*, named from the well 'En rahub, the most important in the land of Suêt, refers, Judg. xviii. 28, not to the whole of Cœlesyria, but to the most southerly portion of this vale-land (البقاع) beyond the Leontes. There lay Reḥôb, not far from the road to Hamath, Num. xiii. 21. But the fugitives purposing to go, not to Hamath, but to Mesopotamia, would therefore go round the southern base of Hermon to come eastward from the Antilibanus and past Damascus to the great Syrian desert.

Salutation of the victors by the king of Sodom, ver. 17: *Then went out the king of Sodom to meet him after his return from the conquest of Chedorla'omer and of the kings that were with him, in the valley of 'Sâweh, which is the king's vale.* Certainly the king's vale where Absalom erected a pillar for himself, 2 Sam. xviii. 18. According to Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 10. 3, this marble pillar was two stadia from Jerusalem, which would apparently make the king's vale the same as the vale of Kedron. The pyramidal-shaped monument at the lower bridge of the Kidron, which is called Absalom's, does not indeed look like an ancient Israelite one, and it might be thought that Absalom erected his pillar on his own estate in Baal Hazor, which seems to be designated (2 Sam. xiii. 23) by עִם־אֶפְרַיִם, as near to the Ephraimitic border, and therefore as a Benjamite locality. The circumstance however that the incident with Melchizedek king of Salem falls between the encounter, ver. 17, and Abram's transaction, ver. 21 sqq., with the king of Sodom, speaks in favour of the situation of

the king's vale being in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.[1] It is indeed questionable, whether the Salem of Melchizedek is Jerusalem; there is a village of Sâlim, which may be observed on the road from Nâbulus (Sichem) to Beisan after a ride of 50 German miles (Bädeker, p. 231), a Salim in the plain of Jezreel, between which village and the village of Selâfe stretches a small valley (*ibid.* 241), probably the *αὐλὼν Σαλήμ*, Judith iv. 4, and according to the *Onom.* of Eusebius revised by Jer. a Salumias, lying 8 Roman miles south of Scythopolis (comp. שלום, *DMZ.* xxviii. 146), which Jerome mistakenly identifies (see Mühlau, art. "Aenon," in Riehm's *HW.*) with the *Σαλείμ* of John the Baptist, and where in his days were shown the ruins of the supposed palace of Melchizedek. Overwhelming reasons decide for the opinion of Josephus, that Salem was Jerusalem. We may conceive with Eupolemus in Eusebius, *Præp.* ix. 17 (who however, following perhaps the Samaritan view, transposes the meeting with Melchizedek to the neighbourhood of the *Ἀργαριζίν*), that Abram had gone through Samaria on his way home to Hebron, intending to dismiss at some convenient place the captives with the booty to their south-eastern home, or that he was following the valley of the Jordan towards Sodom, to take back the captives and the booty himself (Tuch). In either case Jerusalem was not too far out of the road for the king of Sodom to go to meet him from the south-east, and Melchizedek on hearing the report which would precede him of Abram's return as conqueror, to hasten to salute him from Jerusalem on the opposite side. In that case שָׁלֵם, Ps. lxxvi. 3, would not have become the poetical name of the city when it had not been its more ancient one. The reference too to Melchizedek in Ps. cx. is explained by the city of the kingdom of promise and the city of Melchizedek being one and the same. It is just because the existence of Jerusalem reaches back to such hoar antiquity that the gates of the

[1] See Ginsburg's article on the monument of Absalom in the journal המגיד, 1872, p. 256.

fortress of Zion are called פִּתְחֵי עוֹלָם, Ps. xxiv. 7. Extant Jewish tradition in the Targums, the Midrash, the *Sepher hajashar*, esteems the Salem of Melchizedek as indisputably identical with Jerusalem. Finally, the name מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק, as similar in sound with the name of אֲדֹנִי־צֶדֶק, "king of Jerusalem," Josh. x. 1, favours this view.

The meeting with the priest-king of Salem, ver. 18: *And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine, and he was the priest of the Most High God.* אֵל עֶלְיוֹן as a proper name has no article; but עֶלְיוֹן in other usage also rejects the article. According to Sanchuniathon in Euseb. *Præp.* i. 10, the Phœnicians called God the progenitor of Uranus and Gaia Ἐλιοῦν = ὕψιστος; while, on the other hand, *Elonim ve-Elonoth* of Hanno the Carthaginian in the Pœnulus of Plautus has nothing to do with עליון, but means, as the epitaph of Eshmunazar shows, "gods and goddesses." עליון as used here by Melchizedek, if it does not mean the absolutely One, is yet no mere comparative for Him who is higher than others, but the Highest, therefore the God of gods. He brings forth bread and wine from his capital to refresh and honour the returning and courageous deliverer. Those who were delivered were indeed his fellow-countrymen. With gratitude to Abraham he combines thankfulness to God, who had made him the instrument of such mercy, vv. 19, 20*a*: *And he blessed him, and said:*

> *Blessed be Abraham of the Most High God,*
> *The Creator of heaven and earth;*
> *And blessed be the Most High God,*
> *Who hath delivered thine oppressor into thy hand!*

The form of this double berachah is throughout poetic: in it we have אֵל עֶלְיוֹן, at least for Israelites, a poetic sound, Ps. lxxviii. 35, lvii. 3; קָנָה, used here only for בָּרָא or עָשָׂה, is more significant than either, denoting Him whose קִנְיָן, creature and property, the world is; צָרִיד for אוֹיֵב, and מָגַן an exclusively poetical word (to give, here: to deliver up, Hos. xi. 8, in a connection referring back to Gen. xiv. or Deut. xxix. 22: to

give up; Prov. iv. 9: to present). The language of Canaan (Isa. xix. 18), which is appointed to be the sacred language, is in these ἐπινίκιοι εὐχαί (Philo, *Opp.* i. 533) already being transformed into a vessel of honour. The language of him on whom a curse was inflicted appears here as the language of the blessing of him who was blessed. Abram thus blessed by Melchizedek in his turn does him homage, ver. 20*b*: *And he gave him the tenth of all.* In acknowledgment of his priesthood he gives him the tenth of all, *i.e.* the tenth of all the goods recovered from the enemy, which as separated from the whole is as representing the whole God's portion in the person of His priest. On the other hand, he refuses for himself any share in the booty, vv. 21–24: *And the king of Sodom said to Abram: Give me the souls (the persons), and keep the goods for thyself. But Abram said to the king of Sodom: I have lifted up my hand to Jahveh, the Most High God, the Creator of heaven and earth: If I from a thread to a shoe latchet, if I take anything that is thine—lest thou shouldest say: I have made Abram rich. Nothing for me! only what the servants have eaten, and the portion of the men that went with me — Aner, Eškol, and Mamre, let them take their portions.* He swears with uplifted hand (הרים יד, while on the contrary it is always נשׂא יד when it is God who swears), a very ancient gesture of the so-called corporal oath. This is the first mention of an oath by God; oaths have become a necessity since. Sin has destroyed the interchange of absolutely unshaken confidence between man and man and between God and man. The negative oath begins with אִם, with an ellipsis of the supplementary sentence: may such and such a thing happen to me, Ges. § 155. 2*f*. To אל עליון he adds יהוה, designating Him who had revealed Himself to him as the God of salvation, as the Most High God. Neither a thread nor a shoe-latchet (וְעַד . . . מִן, both . . . and also, Deut. xxix. 10; Isa. xxii. 24; comp. Ecclus. xlvi. 17; here, by reason of the negative oath implied in אִם: neither . . . nor), *i.e.* he will not accept even the most worthless fragment of

the booty, nor let himself be enriched in this manner. No, he will take nothing (בִּלְעָדַי from בְּלִי=בַּל, and עֲדֵי, like xli. 16, as an adv. whereby we reject anything, properly let it not come, or: if it comes to me); he only requests that the three companions who have marched with him may be remembered. We here first learn of the accession of these men, and perhaps of their people, to the 318 born in Abram's house. The narrative adheres to Abram and to what is to his honour. That he will take nothing on this occasion, while he allowed himself to be so abundantly gifted by Pharaoh, shows him, as Hasse remarks, "inwardly more elevated and advanced than in the days of his self-incurred humiliation in Egypt."

What has just occurred is both a prelude and prefiguration of the fact, that the seed of Abraham will come forth victorious from the conflict with the world-power for their own salvation and that of others. It is just now, when Abram has shown himself as much raised above men as helpful to them, that the mysterious figure of Melchizedek comes forth from a hidden background without any intervention, as without it he again disappears—a figure seen for a moment significant for ever. This Melchizedek, of whom we know neither the whence nor the whither, is in the midst of heathen surroundings a vehicle of the pre-heathen faith, a servant of the Most High God, a king who exercises the priestly office not merely as a king, or as a father of a family does as such, for in this sense Abram too was נָשִׂיא and priest, but who according to ancient Phœnician custom unites in himself the office of king with that of priest, and is hence expressly called, as Abram never is, כֹּהֵן. By this priest-king, who has no authority to point to from descent and law, the ancestor of Israel, of Levi and of Aaron, the father of the nation of the promise, of the priesthood and of the Law, allows himself to be blessed. And not only so, but Abram, in whom is comprised that priestly race which is to receive the tenth, gives to this priest-king the tenth of all the spoil. There is a royal priesthood outside the law—predicted by this typical history, as

the Epistle to the Hebrews explains—to which even Abram and his seed must bow, to whom even the Levitical priesthood must do homage; for just where Abraham appears at the most ideal elevation, Melchizedek stands beside and towers above him. Melchizedek is like the setting sun of the primitive revelation made to men before their separation into nations, the last rays of which shine upon the patriarch, from whom the true light of the world is in process of coming. This sun sets to rise again in antitype in Jesus Christ,[1] when the preparatory epoch of Israel shall have passed. In the light of this antitype the gifts of Melchizedek acquire a typical significance. They foreshadow the gifts which the exalted heavenly Priest-King brings in love for the refreshment of those who are of the faith of Abraham.

[1] The Zend religion also expects a future ruler, who as the antitype of Zarathustra shall unite in himself the royal and priestly offices (*DMZ.* xl. 109).

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